

Med

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T H E
A N A L Y S I S
O F
I N O C U L A T I O N :

COMPRIZING THE
HISTORY, THEORY, and PRACTICE of it:
With an occasional CONSIDERATION
O F T H E
M O S T R E M A R K A B L E A P P E A R A N C E S
I N T H E



S M A L L P O X.

By J. KIRKPATRICK, M. D.

quibus hunc lenire dolorem
Possis, et magnam morbi deponere partem. HOR.

L O N D O N :

Printed for { J. MILLAN, near Charing-Cross;
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AND
R. GRIFFITHS, in St. Paul's Church-Yard.

MDCCCLIV.

THE
ANALYSIS
OF
INOCULATION:

COMPARING THE
HISTORY, THEORY, AND PRACTICE OF IT:

WITH AN OCCASIONAL CONSIDERATION

OF THE

MOST REMARKABLE APPEARANCES

IN THE

SMALL POX.



By J. BARKLEY, M.D.

Author of the

Praxis of medicine, &c. &c. &c.

LONDON:

Printed for J. MILLAR, near St. Paul's Church

and

R. GRIFFITHS, in St. Paul's Church-yard

MDCCLXXV.



T O T H E
K I N G.

S I R !



E R E the following Endeavours to ascertain and extend the most salutary Practice ever discover'd, for restraining the Fatality of a very loathsome and destroying Disease, executed suitably to the Zeal of their Author for the Completion

pletion of such a diffusive Good, there must be some Propriety in their aspiring to the Patronage of a Monarch, whose early Admission of the Practice among His Royal Progeny has eventually preserved so many Thousands of His Subjects, His political Children. The present Generation of Your Majesty's Subjects for themselves, and for their Offspring, acknowledge, that among innumerable Instances of the paternal Goodness and Vigilance of their KING, they can never forget the many happy Consequences of His Sagacity and Resolution on this Occasion, which have very nearly expunged the Small Pox from the Catalogue of mortal Diseases. A Disease, that, for many Centuries, was probably oftener exasperated than asswaged by medical Application. What then must be the accumulated Gratitude of their Sons Sons! What extended Acknowledgements may not hence accrue from different Nations and Languages!

The

DEDICATION. v

The highest Glory of the exalted Rulers of the Earth, and the utmost Felicity of their subordinate Nations concur, when the sole Cause and Sustainer of the Universe disposes the Heart of the KING. The Subject of the following Pages seems a pregnant Instance of the Divine Goodness, thus transfused to the great and opulent People Your Majesty rules and protects: a People, whose true Reflexion glows with a most grateful Feeling of those natural, those religious and civil Rights, that were strongly re-establish'd by the Accession of Your illustrious House to the *British* Diadem. Conscious of their just Investment with the natural, but civilized and innoxious LIBERTY of Men, their Happiness reflects the Dignity, and extends the Lustre, of their ever gracious Sovereign and Guardian. DETTINGEN shall witness, and CULLODEN shall record, the Energy of Your Subjects, animated by their Royal, their Delivering Leaders; while every reasonable

sonable Individual fervently joins the Prayers of Your Great national Council, for that happy Length of Days to Your Majesty, and that ceaseless Succession in Your illustrious House, on which the durable Prosperity of Your Dominions, under the Divine Favour, so essentially depends.

Though the Purpose of a well-founded and extensive Tranquillity has habitually engaged Your Majesty's Attention since that Day, when even adverse Fortune, distinguishing the heroic Ardour of WILLIAM, declared the half-receding Victor to dread, like *Pyrrhus*, the Hazard of repeating so dear-bought a Victory; yet other wholesome and beneficent Schemes have been happily effected under Your benign Influence. This, like the Sun's, unlimited to a Region or Climate, has cherished those, whom foreign Superstition had exiled, and endowed such, as Bigotry hath oppressed with Rapine. And while the

the reflecting Neighbours of *Great Britain* admire, and pant after, that constitutional Happiness, Your Majesty patronizes, they candidly admit her Portion of Genius, her Acquisitions in useful Science, fully equal at least to those of any People. Instances of this Truth are obvious and many; but it were difficult perhaps to adduce one more important than the great Improvement and Success of Inoculation throughout Your extensive Dominions; the wide Diffusion of which Success, flowing so eminently from Your Majesty's, Your late Royal and most discerning Consort's, and Your Royal Father's Sanction, may truly assert that healing Virtue of the Kings of *England* in Your illustrious Line, which former Ages had ascribed to Your Royal Predecessors, in a less popular and acute Disease.

To have been born into a natural Subjection and Allegiance to Your Majesty is that common Happiness of Millions,

lions, which many others aspire to enjoy by Adoption. But to be admitted, through Your most gracious Indulgence to these Endeavours for the Publick Health, to this distinguishing Oblation of them to Your August Presence, is contemplated with the profoundest Veneration, the most awful Deference, of,

May it please Your Majesty,

Your Majesty's

most humbly dutiful,

and devoted Subject,

J. KIRKPATRICK.

positive themselves, that our procuring this corporal Security against this perilous Disease is full of more important Peril to the Soul, I dare say that all, who have superadded our religious Belief of its Immortality to that rational Persuasion of it, professed by the best and wisest Heathens, will unanimously desist applying, or suffering, the Practice any longer. On the other Hand, if it shall appear, on a fair Enquiry, that the applying or admitting Inoculation, with the best human Precautions, and under a proper Frame of Mind, leaves the Soul, whatever the Event of Inoculation be, just in the same Degree of Security it found it, it will scarcely be controvertible, whether that Reason our heavenly Father has indued us with should operate more strongly towards our surer Preservation of Life and Health, with Respect to this Disease; or our ill-grounded Fears and Misapprehensions, to the much greater Peril of them.

The earliest theological Combatant against Inoculation certainly set out with more Zeal than Knowledge, when, without debating about the Antiquity of the Small Pox, he came to the Matter at once, and roundly affirmed, the Devil inoculated *Job* with it. “He supposes * his Disease that Confluence of inflammatory Pustules, which, he observes, is now incident to most Men; that it might be conveyed to him by some such Way as that of Inoculation; and concludes, that he does not see what can be advanced to invalidate this Supposition.” His calling it a diabolical Operation, the Operators diabolical, *Venefici*, and their Patients Atheists, &c. &c. &c. are necessary Consequences of his first Assertion. A very prudent Man would certainly have attended impartially to the general Fruits of the Practice, and have informed himself more exactly about its different Properties

Properties than the Rev. Mr. MASSEY did, before he pronounced so peremptorily concerning it. That his Intelligence of it was merely crude and popular is evident, from his affirming it no Security against a second Infection; and his ascribing the Practice of it to the *Turks*, for this extraordinary Reason too, because they are Fatalists; when our earliest Accounts of it from *Constantinople* tell us, “it was practised by the
 “*Greeks*, and among themselves and the *Armenians*,
 “who are Christians; and that the *Turks*, as Fatalists,
 “rejected it,” which happens to be a little more intelligible than their receiving it, as such. But Absurdities, like Misfortunes, seldom come alone. There is little Doubt however, but some of his Hearers, and Readers, really concluded the Devil had inoculated *Job*; the Consequence of which Conclusion may be easily surmized, at a Time when the Practice was quite new here, the Prejudices against it greater, and the Evidence in its Favour less, than at present.

Notwithstanding which a Dissuasive against Inoculation was printed here, 1751; and a Sermon against it preached at *Canterbury*, this Year 1753, is since printed, without either having been publickly * animadverted on that I have heard of: For my own Part I may with great Truth aver, I can discern no just Argument, no Force, in those Objections; so that the vital Security of such, as might mistake their Affirmations for Arguments, and their Misrepresentations for Facts, is the real Motive of my endeavouring to expose their Futility and Impertinence.

The Sermon affirms literally, P. 8, 9. “It will be
 “hard to produce out of the *huge* System of *hurtful*
 “Inventions ever an Instance big with *more* Infidelity
 “and Atheism, than this of Inoculation.” This is
 a 2 the

* This Preface was at Press, before Mr. *Bolaine's* reasonable Answer to this Sermon was published.

the old Device of mixing Heaven and Earth, and indeed Hell too, in the Quarrel; and to cite it appears its sufficient Refutation. Since, to omit the Importance and Number of the Inoculated, had the Author spent a few Minutes Reflection on the religious and moral Characters of many who have been inoculated themselves, or employed it in their Families; and who have further promoted the Practice from the most generous and disinterested Motives, any State of Mind, short of utter Malignity or Distraction, must have prevented him from passing, in so solemn a Situation, so truly unchristian a Censure on Numbers, who are fully as remote from Infidelity and Atheism as himself, and have evidenced at least equal Faculties to distinguish what are, and are not, such. This is *Anathema, Maranatha*, with a Witness, and not unlike Lord Peter's plain Argument in Defence of Transubstantiation. As it necessarily arraigns me, among much better Company, with the Practice of Infidelity and Atheism, I must ever I consider it in a very opposite Light, without which I had never practised nor promoted it. Many, to my certain Knowledge, admit, and others apply it, under a lively Dependance, that they are using a Method discovered by Providence, for a much more general Preservation from the Mortality of the Small Pox, than mere Art ever did, or probably ever will, effect in that, or in any other Disease of equal Fatality. The generally mild Progress and happy Event of it conspire with Religion and Reason, to excite the Gratitude and Devotion of the Patient and the Beholders, and induce the revering and honest Physician to exclaim with *Japis* in *Virgil*,

*Non haec humanis opibus, non arte magistra,
Proveniunt ———*

Indeed

Indeed could human Penetration in this Life survey and estimate the Scenes of Futurity, it seems more probable than otherwise, that our strong Solicitude for a long Inhabitation of the present would sensibly diminish; whence all Remedies, except those against present acute Pain, would be less attended to. But His supreme Wisdom, who has limited our Knowledge here, tho' not our Hopes, to this Planet, having willed our Residence on it for a Term unknown to us, has most benignly implanted that ardent Desire of Length of Days in us, that makes our Duty, our Obedience to his Will, in this one Respect at least, the strongest Passion in our Nature. *All a Man has will he give for his Life.* What Wonder then that he should embrace the fairest Chance for the Continuance of it? Can it therefore be consistently inferred, that our Exertion of this Self-preservation against the Pain and Mortality of an acute Disease is irreligious and derogatory to the Honour of God? Or can any one suppose Him incensed with us, in such a Situation, for an Adherence to that Impression He has so deeply stamp'd into our Essence; that when Persons, in Violation of it, become Suicides, we suppose them under an utter Eclipse of the reasonable Soul? And if this be Madness, is not the Reverse consistent with a Sanity of the Mind, and an Obedience to that earliest Impression of the Creator?

But with what still greater Perversity must others ascribe a vital Discovery, that has never been traced up to its first human Instrument, to the Spirit of Malignity and Falshood! Has that evil Principle, whom the Scripture terms *a Murderer from the Beginning*, so altered his Nature, as to become beneficent to Men! And does the wonted *Giver of all good Gifts*, the Inspirer of all useful Knowledge, but shew this efficacious Practice to tantalize, or insnare, wretched Mortals?

Mortals? Or if it really were the tempting Device of Satan, will He, who has declared himself a *jealous God, and in whose Hands are the Issues of Life*, suffer this Device to triumph so manifestly over that Disease, which has sometimes been ascribed, with others, to his immediate and judicial Infliction? Doth He, who came *to save, and not to destroy*, and who bids us *judge of every Tree by its Fruits* (which seems unstrainedly applicable to Practices and Customs as well as Men) deem us culpable for attending to, and being determined by, the very general Fruits of a Practice, so incontestably favourable to Life?

At the same Time it is readily allowed, that Self-Preservation may and ought laudably to be postponed, whenever our Duty to God, to our Country, our Friend, or Neighbour, demands the Risque, and even Loss of the present Life; which is not a Loss of Existence, but a different Mode or Locality of it; and when thus dutifully and nobly exchanged, under an humbling Sense of our manifold Infirmities, may so probably be a Change for the better. But exposing our Lives to a Distemper, which, accidentally taken, destroys, upon a fair Calculation, full fifteen (and suppose it were much less) for one that fails by this Application of it, cannot appear to any Person, of an unwarped Understanding, a Duty in any of these Regards; where our Death can answer no evident good Purpose, tho' it may sensibly affect, or even prejudice, others. *In the Grave none can praise God*, and the Deceased are lost to every sublunary Duty and Relation. As to the Impiety that has been suggested in attempting to elude or soften this Scourge of the Almighty; tho' we do not contest, but that He may sometimes inflict this morbid Visitation, as the Scriptures inform us He has others (for who shall enter into his Counsels!) yet it seems highly rational, and by
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no means irreligious, to infer, that in the ordinary Course of his Providence he leaves secondary Causes to their necessary Operation and Effects. Whether we survive to the utmost Term, we were formed to exist in this State, or abridge it through our own Folly or Intemperance, by Accident or Contagion, the Creating Cause, preconscious of the full and ultimate Completion of his wise and gracious Purposes in our Creation, most probably commits intermediate Events, that appear very important to our narrow Comprehension, to the Vicegerency of Nature ; and

*— sees with equal Eye, as God of all,
A Hero perish, or a Sparrow fall.*

Yet, as with Regard to our future State, He hath set Life and Death, Good and Evil before us, to select, as free and rational Agents ; so, with Respect to the present Disease, He has manifestly permitted us to see the Evidence of two different Modes and Events of receiving it, and freely left us (as I apprehend for my own Part, with the utmost Reverence and Gratitude) to make our reasonable, and even religious, Option. For such then, as cannot avoid considering Inoculation in this Light, it is surely religiously lawful at least, if not incumbent, to receive and apply it: while they leave those who conceive or embrace very opposite Sentiments of it, to enjoy unblamed (and even with an Approbation of their Sincerity and Consistence in abstaining from it) that Liberty of pursuing the Dictates of their Conscience, which the Friends of Inoculation think they have a reciprocal Right of doing unimpeached.

But this they are not permitted to do ; *they are reviled, tho' they revile not* ; and while they consider their Antagonists but as mistaken, they are charged with Impiety, Infidelity, and Atheism, in practising

or admitting what has been termed, contrary to all Probability, a diabolical Invention. Now Persons who erect themselves into such censorial Importance; who are so ready to tax the Conduct of their * Superiors; and are so liberally indued with the cheap and humble Rhetoric of calling Names, ought to have a truly rational Conviction, that when they call Persons and Practices by such bitter ones, they are not mis-calling them, by those essentially opposite to their true Nature and Characters. Were Truth on their Side, would this be *contending for it in the Spirit of Meekness*, which indeed so frequently accompanies it? But, as the plain Evidence of innumerable Facts are against them, has it not a much stronger Appearance of persisting obstinately against the Truth, with the Spirit of Bitterness and Execration? We say *Appearance*, because, as He alone who made the Heart can judge of it, we chuse to credit this Writer with a religious Zeal for what he thinks the Truth on this Occasion; for if we do not allow his Discourse this intentional Merit, we can certainly allow it none. But a blind Zeal, tho' *called religious*, if it may have destroyed fewer than Ambition, has destroyed them more cruelly. Those violent Spirits, who, within a few Centuries past, committed Numbers to the Flames here, for their conscientious Adherence to plain Christian Truths; and influenced the like Cruelty on the Continent, to the Destruction of many Thousands, had sufficient Zeal, such as it was, to plead for it. Indeed without this they must have been greater Monsters than *Nero* himself, who, we have never heard, pleaded a Commission, even from his Pagan Deities, for acting like a Devil incarnate. How much more probably and amiably does the good Archbishop TILLOTSON suppose Charity the Criterion of Truth
in

* See Sermon, P. 5.

in a religious System ! For, however we may be misled by Names, all Zeal, that is really cruel and uncharitable, is *essentially irreligious*. We do not intend here to form a Comparison between the Opponents of Inoculation and the bloody Anti-Reformers ; but to evince the unwarrantable Lengths of a blind intemperate Zeal, which has most generally been employed in the Support of Error too. Neither are we disposed to retort the Devilism, the Anti-Inoculators have ascribed to us, on themselves, tho' surely it might be done with at least equal Justice ; since next to destroying Life seems to be preventing an Interposition to save it.

But what Principle, what Zeal, can warrant such a gross Misrepresentation of Facts, such plain Falshoods, as this Author allows himself in ! To give a few Instances out of many, he says, P. 20, " that In-
" oculation secures us against no one Danger we are
" in the natural Way exposed to ; affords no one real
" Advantage that may not be had in the common
" Management of the Disease ; and is subject to ma-
" ny Inconveniences and Evils, which, in the regu-
" lar Course of Things, we are either quite free from,
" or but slightly affected with." P. 21, 22, " It
" may be maintained that Adults, if naturally of a
" *good Constitution*, and such as have not impaired *that*
" Constitution, or are not at the Time under any bo-
" dily Indisposition occasioned by Intemperance or
" other Vices, have as good a Chance for their Life
" in the *natural*, as Children have in the *unnatural*
" Way, and perhaps a *better, &c.*" P. 23, " As
" to the *Cure* which Inoculation furnishes for those
" *Fears* Persons are apt to lie under till they have
" gone thro' the Trial ; and the *Certainty* of the Dis-
" ease proving in this Way *less severe and less mortal* ;
" these, tho' urged as *singular* Recommendations of
" this Practice, seem however to be no better than
" *mere*

“ *mere Pretences.*” P. 26, “ There is then most
 “ evidently no one *peculiar, real* Advantage gained
 “ by submitting to this *deceitful* Trial; nor any the
 “ *least* Security against the Dangers incident to the
 “ Distemper in the *natural* Way.”

It is superfluous to give any Answer to such gross Mistakes, or worse. But we may well query, if the Preacher reflected where he said them? and who advised, or rather sentenced, him to publish them? Yet, to make the Practice some Amends for the hard Words he has given it, he has oppos'd it with very tender Arguments. His comparing the Admission of * Inoculation to a Man's consenting to have his Legs broke, by way of preventing any subsequent Fractures of them, which he calls a parallel Case, is such a Parallel indeed, as would not have occur'd to every Body; and is nearly as ingenious as Mr. MASSEY's ascribing the Longævity of the Antediluvians to their Physicians profounder Knowledge of Minerals and Vegetables. Such pretty Conceits, however, are sufficient to gauge the Depth of the Fountains they spring from.

The anonymous Author of *A Dissuasive against inoculating for the Small Pox* is a more reserv'd, and, at the first Appearance, a more temperate Writer. His having some Elegance and Address, and his supposing the general Success of Inoculation, which he is too prudent to dispute, have a Tendency to insinuate him into such Company, as could not digest the gross Contradictions, and coarse Dialect, of the Sermon. His theological Arguments against it, however, are pretty much the same, it being founded, according to his Creed, in Presumption, Turpitude, Malignity, and even Idolatry. But surely the hunted Hare, he gives so lively a Description of from a *Latin* Poet, is not reduced to more Shifts than this artful Writer is, in endeavouring to enforce such Affeверations by any just Argu-

* Serm. P. 24, 25.

Arguments. There is a great deal of Scripture quoted on the Occasion, which wants nothing but a right Application. Thus, for his Mottos to the *Parallel between Divine Resignation and Inoculation* (and Mottos are generally selected for being very pat and significant) he has chosen the following Texts, viz. “*He that loveth Father or Mother more than me, is not worthy of me; and he that loveth Son or Daughter more than me, is not worthy of me. — He that findeth his Life shall lose it, and he that loseth his Life for my Sake shall find it. — Speaking the Truth in Love.*”

Now who disputes the Truth and Significance of the two former, on the Occasion they were uttered by our Saviour? the first of them declaring the Right which all had to embrace the Gospel and become his Disciples, notwithstanding the Opposition of their nearest Relations, to whom they owed, in all lawful Respects, an entire Obedience, and very great Affection: as the latter seems prophetic of the ensuing Persecution, and even Martyrdom, of some of the earliest Champions of Christianity, to whom, I think, they were address’d, and were exhortatory to their Perseverance, in Defiance of it. But what possible Reference have they to Inoculation! If they could have any, an unprejudiced Reader would be apt to infer, there must have been some direct and positive Text against it in Scripture; or, as the Novelty of the Distemper and the Practice must prevent such an Anachronism, he might suppose there was as positive a Commandment, not to attempt to save, as, not to kill. As to the last Text, viz. — *Speaking the Truth in Love*, which the Writer may have intended to apply to the Scope and Spirit of his Performance, how reconcileable is this emphatical *Love* with his

————— *careat successibus opto*
Quisquis ab eventu facta notanda putat.

Which,

Which, in plain Prose, expresses his pious Aspirations, that whosoever takes the Character of Actions from their Events, and repeats them from their former Success, may find himself disappointed. Now as nothing but the successful Events of Inoculation could recommend the Use of it, it fairly extends the Author's good Wishes to the Disappointment, or Death, of any one who shall be inoculated, from judging of it by its Event, which is the Case of all who are. Can Inoculation possibly have its Origin in so much Turpitude and Malignity, as this Professor of Love has manifested in this *Latin* Fragment? which he prudently declined putting into such plain *English*, as we have done for him. His Application is general, and, not to include the Inoculated within the Amplitude of his good Wishes, he must have expressly excepted them. Besides that either Turpitude or Malignity is much such an Origin or Cause of Inoculation, as *Tenterdon* Steeple was of *Goodwin* Sands: And Persons who thus bewilder themselves and others in the Mazes of Sophistry and Darknes; and are at some Pains to avoid the serene Expanse of Reason and Sunshine, may be more justly considered, as *eluding the Truth out of Prejudice*, than as *speaking it in Love*. Indeed the plain Case is, that the former Texts are wrested, like many others, by the Anti-Inoculators against the Practice, to infer it malign, and distrusting Providence; when the Subjects of Inoculation manifestly resign themselves as entirely to the Disposition of Providence, in selecting the safest Way it has shewn of submitting to this Disease, as the others, in waiting for the most perilous; which the former sincerely think, Religion does not require of them, and which their Reason disapproves.

For my own Part, the more I see and revolve on this Practice, the Opinion of its providential Origin becomes

comes more deeply rooted in me. Methinks, if the revering and sagacious *Hippocrates*, who suggested the Divinity of a Disease, had seen this, and this Method, he must have inferred the Divinity of the Remedy too. The Candour of *Sydenham* must have acknowledged the Efficacy of his salutary attempering *Regimen* amazingly surpassed. *Boerhaave*, who lived to approve this Method, had contemplated how to resist the Disease by some Antidote, or to discharge or extinguish it by an anti-inflammatory depressing Process. Indeed the common and rational Purpose of this great medical Triumvirate was to mitigate and subdue Diseases by a judicious Sub-contrariety of Remedies to the Nature of their Causes: and those, who have done otherwise, have generally done Mischief. But 'till I heard of Inoculation, I never heard, read, nor could have supposed, that a direct Application of the contagious Cause of a Disease to the Blood it particularly infects, was the very surest Prevention of its mortal Effects! And thus *Pylarini* tells us, that the *Greek* Woman he found practising it had no Sort of Idea why it gave the Small Pox; but attributed both the Practice and Success of it to the Goodness of Heaven; the most obvious and natural Inference that could occur to a plain uncorrupted Apprehension, when she saw such a manifest Difference between the Consequences of it, and of common Infection. In short, we shall run little Hazard of misapplying Scripture more for Inoculation, than its Opponents have done against it, if we say, after reflecting on this effectual, most salutary, and paradoxical Coalition of the Cause and its Cure, *His Ways are not like our Ways*; and then conclude, with the Psalmist, *This is the Lord's Doing, and it is marvellous in our Eyes*.

Nor will our few comparative Miscarriages in this Way considerably militate against this Conclusion.

Had

Had no one ever failed under it, few or none, scarcely a *Turk* perhaps, had opposed it by this Time; and thus becoming a Matter of Certainty, there had been no Room for Faith or Resignation in admitting it; which indeed might have led some to too high a Conception of their Independency in this Respect. The Losses we see by it under the best Regulation are no more than seem sufficient to remind us of the ultimate Dependance of the Creature on the Creator in every State; and to convince us of the Shallowness of our Insight, which cannot discern the few particular Subjects, whom the gentlest Mode and slightest Dose of this Poison, under the best human Caution, must destroy; for a few such very probably there are. But it is a clear Point with me, that no one dying by Inoculation could have naturally survived the common Infection, under strictly the same physical Circumstances, among which I include the Treatment of the Distemper. Briefly to express my whole Sense of this Practice, I have a conscientious Conviction that the Use of it is religiously right for as many as think rightly about it: nor can I doubt that the Union of true Religion and Reason is much closer than Enthusiasm can perceive, or Infidelity will admit. Medically right I must affirm I know it to be, in Consequence of which I must think it politically so.

I shall be censured perhaps, on this Occasion, as going too far out of my Province; but since I may be supposed to have considered this Practice a little in a religious View for my own Satisfaction, I offer the Reflections that have made me very easy in the Exercise of it, as some Remedy against the mistaken Scruples of others. And in this Respect, as well as throughout the following Treatise, I am happily conscious, that I have conducted myself by as single and abstracted a View to the Public Good, as I can conceive it in the Power
of

of a weak frail Man to do. The best Apology I can make for a good deal of hypothetical Reasoning I have indulged in is, that I think it very generally points to a rational and sanative Practice. But however erroneous any of the Theory may prove, our great Felicity is, that the Facts are incontrovertible, and establish the Practice on the surest Foundation. Plain Events, as I have said in a former Essay, appeal to ordinary unlettered Sense; they speak an universal Language, challenge a direct Assent, and confound the most elaborate Trifling and Obstinacy.

To conclude with acknowledging the Assistances I have had towards this Work, I am scarcely at Liberty to name those Physicians, who have favoured me with Facts and Cases. I have named most of the Surgeons who have obliged me with any Information; and might, I believe, have had an Account of the Numbers inoculated by many of them, had I not imagined that certain Inferences, however unjust, might be made on the Occasion. Several of my Friends have assisted me with some scarce Tracts on the Subject, which I could not otherwise have readily procured. But I must affirm my very peculiar Acknowledgements to Mr. Serjeant RANBY on Account of this Treatise, which are the more due, as there was no Intimation of such a Debt. The World had justly formed a considerable Expectation from those Reflections and Observations, which his long Experience and most successful * Practice of Inoculation had afforded him. Yet hearing I had determined to re-consider the Subject, he, in the friendliest Manner imaginable, gave me all his Papers, and insisted on referring the Use and Disposal of them to my own Arbitrement. Could I have concealed this more than verbal Compliment to myself, without suppressing his Manner of conferring

* See P. 114.

a Benefit, Decency must have disposed me to do it. I had before, on a short Acquaintance, an essential and wholly unsolicited Favour, to thank this Gentleman for; and heartily wish my Acknowledgements here could express my full Sense of his great Amity: since a generous Reader would much sooner pardon some little Intemperance of Gratitude on such an Occasion, than the slightest Languor of it. Finally, if, with such Helps, I have been enabled to produce something of moderate Utility to the Publick, I am greatly obliged to the Goodness and public Spirit of my Lord Bishop of WORCESTER, who first did me the Honour of advising me to apply my Thoughts to a thorough Consideration of the Subject.

P. S. Further Intelligence has enabled me to inform the Reader here, that the Numbers inoculated last Season at *Blandford* were exactly 309, of whom three died. There was but one Practitioner there, who made an Issue in the Arm he did not inoculate, and lost none, tho' I have not heard the Number of his Patients. Mr. *Wall* informs me, from their Books, that the Numbers inoculated at the inoculating Hospital, exclusive of this Fall, were 309, of whom but two died; and adds, that 421 died out of 1415 Patients there in the natural Way. This is indeed an uncommon Proportion, but we are to consider, how many of them may have been taken in a Manner out of the Streets, and some perhaps when the Disease was advanced. I am also to advise the Reader, that I was mistaken in saying, the young Nobleman, mentioned in the Note at P. 71, was inoculated. He was accidentally infected, had the Purples, bled from the Gums, Nose and Eyes, and died very early in the Disease; of which I have been assured by Serjeant RANBY, who afterwards inoculated his Brother with Success.



O F

VARIOLOUS CONTAGION,

Or the external CAUSE of the

S M A L L P O X.



It is much easier to describe the visible Effects of this Contagion, than to investigate, with very probable Certainty, the precise Time and Place of its earliest Appearance: for though it seems a reasonable Inference, that it was unknown to the antient *Greek* and *Latin* Physicians, that will fail to demonstrate its Non-existence at, or before, their Time, among any People they might have no Knowledge of; and who having very little Commerce, and no Letters, could not greatly extend, nor at all record it. Such a meer Supposition, or Possibility, is equally incapable of Proof or Refutation, from our very obscure Knowledge of the Situation of different Nations on their earlier Emigrations, and their gradual Diffusion over the Earth after the Deluge:

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but

but with Regard to the *Jews*, of whom we have some historical Knowledge, tho' no antient medical Writings from them, we have not much less cogent Reasons for supposing this Disease unknown to them under *Moses*, or even after the Commencement of the Christian *Æra*; since many other Diseases incident to them, and particularly their great cuticular one, are reiteratedly named in both the Testaments; and the learned Dr. MEAD has met with no Passage in either, that induces him to mention it in his Treatise *De morbis biblis*, referring the Distemper of *Job*, which many of the Vulgar, especially since Mr. MASSEY's Sermon against Inoculation, have supposed the Small Pox, rather to an *Elephantiasis*. *America*, which was most probably peopled from northern *Tartary*, has, with the greatest Likelihood, been esteemed wholly free from it, before its Introduction by the *Europeans*. Dr. FRIEND (1) conjectures it to have appeared first in *Egypt*, from *Rhazes*' mentioning one *Aaron*, who practised Physic at *Alexandria* in the Reign of *Mahumed*, A. C. 622, and who described the Symptoms, Kinds, and Cure of the Small Pox. But we are informed by Dr. MEAD, (2) that REISKE, who was thoroughly skilled in *Arabic*, assures us, that he found it affirmed in a Manuscript in that Language at *Leyden*, that the Small Pox and Measles first appeared in *Arabia*, the Year when *Mahumed* was born, A. C. 572,* which

(1) Oper. p. 330.

(2) de Variol p. 3.

* Boulonvillars fixes his Birth on April the 9th 571.

which will sufficiently consist with *Aaron's* writing on it fifty Years after.

In the Year 1735 a *Latin* Treatise was published at *Wratislaw* by the ingenious Dr. HAHN, intituled *Antiquitates Variolarum*, in which he affirms the antient *Greek* Physicians certainly knew the Small Pox. This we have not seen, but find it answered the same Year, by another *Latin* Treatise, *de Variolis et Anthracibus*, printed at *Hanover*, and written by the learned Dr. WERLHOF, Physician to his Majesty as Elector. This Gentleman maintains the Negative with much Erudition and Solidity. Dr. HAHN replied to it in 1736, and in some Citations from *Paulus Aegineta*, *Eusebius* and *Evagrius*, has given us their Testimonies of an eruptive Disease in their Time, which undoubtedly has a great Resemblance to it in many Circumstances. The Controversy was conducted with much Learning, with great Politeness, and even Amity, on both Sides, to the reciprocal Honour of the Writers. We do not find that Dr. WERLHOF rejoined on this Occasion; and yet, after perusing this Reply of Dr. HAHN's (who spares no Pains to support his Assertion) and two auxiliary Letters from his Friend Dr. TRILLER, it still seems improbable, that the antient *Greek* or *Latin* Physicians knew this Disease, since they have left us any Room for litigating their Knowledge of it. If they had really seen it, it is not likely it would be less contagious, or much less mortal, in their Climate than in ours; and if that

were the Case, they must have been more remiss, and less graphical than we have supposed them in the Description of Distempers, to have omitted such a specific Account of one so popular and fatal, and attended with so many *Crises* and *Stadia*, as should suffer us to confound it with any other eruptive Disorder, of which they were obnoxious to a great Variety. It is supposing them extremely oscitant and incurious to omit taking Notice of its being manifestly contagious, as well as epidemical; not to advert to that extraordinary Circumstance of no Persons being liable to a second Attack of it; nor even to mention the indelible Scars and Deformities it must have frequently left behind it. Finally we must observe, that this Reply of Dr. HAHN's, which was dedicated to Dr. MEAD, and some *German Literati*, did not induce the former to alter his Opinion of this Disease being unknown to the Antients, which he has strongly affirmed in his late *Tractatus de Variolis*. P. 2.

But whatever Obscurity may attend the Investigation of its first Appearance, which is not the most material Circumstance, the intimate Nature and *Analysis* of its external primary Cause is likely to remain a Difficulty insuperable by the human Faculties. And indeed if such *Analysis* might probably conduct us to the Discovery of its specific Remedy or Antidote, which some have imagined all Poisons to have, the Non-attainment of it may be considered as one of those partial Evils, to which the Condition of our Nature here irretrievably

trievably subjects us. For notwithstanding the utmost Penetration, which many of us may be willing, from an ultimate Fondness for ourselves, to credit our Species with, it is evident, that our least perplexed Reasonings on such very minute Parts, and exquisitely active Modifications of Matter, as elude our Inspection and Cognizance, must be taken from their general sensible Effects; and from our partial Knowledge of such perceivable Substances, as commonly enforce, or resist, their Operation.

It is certain indeed that DIEMERBROECK mentions, (a) and even asserts a visible pestilent *Nubecula* or Vapour, exspired from Persons at the Point of Death in the Plague; and HODGES (b) admits the Adhesion of a pestilent Vapour to the Curtains, &c. But these rather prove the Visibility of the animal Vapour or Moisture including it, which is also the Case of the variolous *Pus*, tho' a more gross and palpable Vehicle: So that it seems abundantly inferable on the whole, that neither the pestilential nor variolous *Miasmata* can be seen, abstracted from their involving Materials,

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any

(a) Hic est ille halitus verus (a multis pro fabula habitus) de quo vulgares loquuntur, cum dicunt, se vidisse ab aegro, extremum spiritum reddente, exiisse venenum pestilens, instar parvae nubeculae ceruleae, idque se insinuasse in hanc vel illam rem — docet experientia, ex rebus illis, in quas talem nubeculam transferri viderunt, postea casu commotis vel excussis, pestem non semel aliis adstantibus communicatam fuisse. *De Peste*. P. 67.

(b) Attamen non is sum qui inficior auram hanc subtilissimam saepenumero corporibus crassioribus, pinguibus et densatae materiae immixtam, et fore olfactu et conspectu perceptibile. *Loimologia*. P. 42.

any more than they can be weighed, or measured, by us.

But it may be affirmed perhaps, that the variolous *Primordia*, or Principles, are the Subjects of Smell, thro' which we are often supposed to be infected by them; since every Person is sensible of a peculiar *Fætor* or Scent (which it is scarcely possible to communicate an Idea of in Words) exhaling from the suppurated Pustules, and many have justly imagined from the Breath too, of Persons in this Disease. It may be controverted however, whether this Sensation be immediately excited by the multiplied Principles of the Distemper, blended with the exhaling suppurated Humours; or be only the meer Scent resulting from that Corruption of the Humours they have induced. We are abundantly convinced of the evaporable Nature of the animal Fluids in a sound State, and of a sensible Difference of the Odour of the *Perspirabile* in some Constitutions: And there is no Doubt but its Avolation, in a morbid or putrid State, will be attended with a manifest Diversity, to whatever Cause such State were owing. Yet as there is a Sameness in the Scent of this Distemper, in the same Degree, in all Constitutions (some Respect being had to the particular Scent of the Perspiration from particular Bodies) supposing no Mortification of the Fluids or Solids to supervene; it seems probable enough, that this peculiar State of the Humours could not be generated by any other Cause; nor less so, that the contagiously exhaling Principles of the Disease

Disease concur with the transpiring Humours in compounding the variolous Scent; since those ingested Particles, whose Increase stimulates the whole Machine so powerfully afterwards, are not likely to be applied to the sensible Membrane of the Nose, without some Degree of Irritation.

By the way it might be suggested here, that perhaps all the abstracted Objects of Smell may be of such very minute Extension, as to render them incapable of reflecting Light, and consequently Colour (at least to Creatures without microscopic Eyes) whence they must be necessarily invisible to us; and that their Levity must be more considerable than that of the *Medium* they float and ascend thro', on which their Diffusion and Activity must partly depend; tho' it is probable they are exerted from the emitting Body with some Spring and Expulsion; and the different Degrees of this from different Substances may well concur to diversify the Strength and Diffusion at least of different Smells; since the various Degrees of Motion, and Modes of Appulse, will have their Effects as necessarily as the Diversities of Bulk, Weight and Figure.

Let us consider, before these Reflections on Contagion by Smell are rejected as minute and trivial, whether they may not tend to some practical Use; and enforce the Reasonableness of that Defence from this most pernicious Mode of it, which common Sense suggests to every one, of carrying some odorous Substance in their Nostrils, when they are obliged to visit infected

Places: since the very Room they occupy in the Organ of Smell may obstruct the Admission of the variolous *Aura* that Way; while the Odours they emit, in a greater or less Quantity, and with some *Impetus*, may actually repel, diversify, or obtund, its malign Appulse in *ipso limine*. As we are satisfied that Musk is not an Odour prophylactic of the variolous *Miasmata*, since the *Chinese* add it to the infected Pellets they convey into the Nose to impart the Small Pox; perhaps some of the graveolent Bodies, as *Asa foetida*, Rue, *Galbanum*, Camphire, or the like, which exert their Scents to a considerable Distance, might be found available. And as the vapid effæte Air, and the Humours we exspire with it from the Lungs, are probably ejected with greater Force than our ordinary superficial Perspiration is, and Contagion is often received by Respiration; it were not amiss perhaps, if the Breath were also impregnated with certain prophylactic *Effluvia* on such Occasions. The faithful and experienced DIEMERBROECK (1) assures us, that he found the frequent smoaking of Tobacco to be not only a considerable Defence in his daily Attendance on Persons in the Plague of *Nimeguen* 1735, but even expulsive of the Contagion he manifestly received more than once: Whence we may infer, *a fortiori*, that this, or some other, Fume might act with equal Prevalence against a Poison somewhat less pernicious and active than that of the Plague. Yet the

(1) De Peste. P. 62, 63, 294, & alibi.

the same * Author judiciously disapproves the Ingestion of Tobacco in Substance, or Infusion, from its violent and debilitating Operation. Now if any particular † Fume, or Odour, were found repeatedly prophylactic of this Infection (since very different Smells possibly may, like opposite Tastes, soon efface or extinguish each other) it would naturally lead us to try an Exhibition of the odorous Mass itself, if not deleterious, whenever there was a Certainty, or strong Suspicion, of an infectious Accident. We have at present sure Remedies for the Bites of some venomous Animals, which before were certainly mortal; and Analogy may induce us to hope, that this material, tho' subtil and invisible Poison, when in-
fumed

* It appears from *Diemerbroeck*, if we may calculate from his Histories, that the Plague kills above the same Proportion that escape through all the different Degrees of the Small Pox taken together: For out of his 120 Histories of the Plague, a few of which regard more Patients than one, 91 died. We may, on this Occasion, contraste the Candour and Modesty of this brave and worthy Physician, with that of our modern Quacks and Advertisers, who are zealous enough to publish and exaggerate every Success, or Non-failure, of their *Nostrums*; as there can be little Disingenuity in affirming, they are not less solicitous to conceal their ill Consequence or Inefficacy. It were to be wished therefore, that every Friend to the Public, who has been a Witness to any Instance of the latter, would as carefully apprize the World of it, that the real Merit and Demerit of their *Nostrums* may appear from an equitable Calculation.

† An Experiment might be made by the Chinese Inodoration, whether any of the abovementioned strong-scented Substances, or any other, being added to the variolated Pellets, would prevent Infection from them. And if this should succeed (tho' it seems rather to be doubted) an Experiment might be made on a criminal Subject of this Disease, immediately, or soon, after simple Inoculation; whether taking and repeating such Substances, or such a Medicine as *Boerhave* recommended, would prevent its Operation on the Blood, or expell it without Eruption.

sumed, is not without its Antidote; nor even its *Aura* without a Counter-vapour. At the worst a fruitless Investigation of such Preservative would leave us but where we are; and might possibly repay the Investigator, as COWLEY says of the Alchemists searching for the Philosopher's Stone,

With good unsought Experiments by the Way.

The honourable Mr. BOYLE observes well, (1)
 ' that the Steams of Bodies may be almost as various as the Bodies themselves that emit them; and that therefore we ought not to look upon them barely under the general and confus'd Notion of Smoke, or Vapours; but may probably conceive them to have their distinct and determinate Natures, oftentimes, tho' not always, suitable to that of the Bodies from whence they proceed.' Of Wormwood particularly he observes, ' that himself and others coming into a Room where some Quantity of it lay, found not only their Organs of Smell wrought powerfully upon by the Corpuscles that swarmed in the Air, but that their Mouths were also sensibly affected with a bitter Taste.' He infers soon after, ' that if our Sensories were sufficiently subtil and tender, they might immediately perceive, in the Size, Shape, Motion, and perhaps Colour too, of some now invisible Effluvia, as distinguishable Differences, as our naked Eyes in their present Constitution see between the different Sorts of Birds, in their Appearances and their Manner of flying.'

And

(1) Fol. Edit. Vol. 3. P. 328, 329, 331.

And (2) elſewhere he aſcribes, with others, the pretty certain Ceſſation of the Plague at *Cairo*, on the Riſing of the *Nile* about the Middle of *June*, to the Exhalations from the River, and the Falling of a particular Dew at the ſame Seaſon.

As we are treating here of Contagion by Scent, it may not be amiſs to caution ſuch uncertain Subjects of this Diſeaſe, as viſit their variolous Friends or Acquaintance without Apprehenſion of it; ſome, from a Tradition, that they have had it ſlightly in their Infancy, 'till Inſtances of ſome of them receiving the true Diſeaſe have proved the former a different Eruption; and others, from a ſilly Prepoſſeſſion, that they ſhall never take it, as they eſcap'd thro' former infectious Situations, or their Parents are ſaid to have died without having had it; ſuch, I ſay, ſhould be cautious to abſtain at leaſt from viſiting Perſons under the ſevereſt Load and Symptoms of it: Since beſides that the horrid Aſpect of a Friend in that Situation may poſſibly, in ſome Meaſure, infect the very Imagination, the Vapours from that Putrefaction, which often accompanies ſuch a Degree of it, may ſuperadd a different, and not leſs fatal, Infection. The following certain Hiſtory may juſtly enforce this Caution.

A waiting Boy in a Coffee-houſe in *Fleetſtreet* being allow'd a Holy-day in Summer, about 12 or 13 Years paſt, went with his Companions to *Shepherds-Buſh*, where the Body of a Murderer had been gibbeted for ſome Time before. The Day

Day was very hot, and the Body extremely offensive. The Lad came very near it, and was quickly struck with a most nauseous Stench. He returned home, directly sickened of a Fever with a vehement Head-ach, and died in 7 or 8 Days, complaining to the last of the same inextinguishable Stench. He complained also of a Pain in his Knees : and one of his Companions, who was likewise infected, but survived, had such an incurable Lameness, that he was forced to quit his active Employment in a public House ; and was put Apprentice to a Shoe-maker in the Country. But this by the Way.

Repeated Instances seem to render it probable, that Infection has been propagated by the Sight of Persons, some Weeks recovered from this Disease, when they had been reiteratedly purged ; and where we might reasonably presume them divested of every infectious Thread. Now notwithstanding we can suppose, where any variolous *Effluvia* are still transpiring (tho' the least active will transpire the latest) that they may penetrate the very Eye with the immitted Light, and be transmitted from thence by the Optic Nerve to the Brain ; and can even imagine that Bodies, abundantly replete with the variolous *Pabulum*, may be more strongly magnetical of such *Effluvia*, and become impregnated with a less energetic Ray of Infection, than would be necessary to excite the Disease in Constitutions, which have a fortunate Scarcity or Dampness of it : Yet where we suppose a total Absence of such *Effluvia*

via (which particular Circumstances may very reasonably induce us to suppose) and Infection speedily succeeds the affecting Appearance of a late variolous Subject, which can present but a softened Resemblance of the Disease at its Height, this Mode of Infection, with Regard to our shallow Caption, may be termed metaphysical, and is what the merely corpuscular Philosopher will deny the Possibility of, with an *ex nihilo nihil fit*. But such as can submit to the coercive Evidence of plain Facts, whose Causes they are sensible exceed their Investigation, and have Recourse to that Analogy which Nature observes in various Effects, will discover many such obvious Appearances, as strongly countenance the Reality of this Infection, tho' they are not delineative of the Manner of it. The Sight of a Person yawning, and even of an emetic Bolus with some Stomachs, will frequently impress the same Motions on the Spectators, as corporal Lassitude and material Stimulation did on the Yawner or Patient. People of moderate Observation must have been convinced of very material Effects from Objects, and even their Ideas. I have been sensible of a short and slight Irritation in my own Eye, from inspecting, and not long, the inflamed Eye of a Relation. I am not naturally subject to such a Disorder, and this Effect has been repeatedly affirmed by medical Writers. Now if this was not the Consequence of my Imagination affectingly impressed by Sight, there must have been a Transmission of some invisible irritating Particles from

from the inflamed to the inspecting Eye. If Imagination *did* produce such an effectual Commotion in any of these Organs, will the affecting Sight of the late Subject of a dreadful Distemper be less adequate to kindling up the Operation of the variolous *Fomes* in the Blood, which *Fomes* will appear very probably to consist of its most active and inflammable Particles? Not that I would contest a material Contagion from the Eyes of a very recently recovered variolous Patient, since a Person, who reflects very attentively on this Subject, may rather be disposed to fancy the very Passions attended with energetic *Effluvia* exerted from, and admitted thro', the Organ of Vision; whose transparent Humours are extremely fine and defecate; and, as they are constantly supplied, must necessarily have their *Dispendium* and Transpiration: In which Respect they will only correspond to the rest of our Surface, which the Sagacity of *Hippocrates* discovered to be ἐκπνεῖον καὶ εἰσπνεῖον, inhaling and exhaling, in spite of his crude and inaccurate Anatomy. The Looks of the Malicious are darted with so acute an Obliquity, that they have been supposed by the antient Vulgar to emit a baneful Influence:

Nescio quis teneros oculus mihi fascinat agnos.

VIRG.

Our modern Multitude term it an evil Eye; and to our natural and strong Aversion to such Aspects perhaps we owe the Fable of the Basilisk poisoning with his Looks: Tho' it is certainly

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ly well attested, that the Rattle-snake of *America*, whose Eyes in Pursuit of his Prey are extremely sparkling and emissive, has this mortally fascinating Power over the Squirrel. It is not unlikely indeed, that the great Terror of the little Quadruped may render it delirious; to which an odd musk-like Odour, that is sensibly diffused from this Viper abroad, and perhaps particularly so at such a Juncture, may materially contribute. In the Passion of Love, different Regards of the Countenance, as it is fortunate or otherwise, have been said to act as Cordials, or chill like Diseases: as if certain very different Emanations were emitted from, and admitted thro', these Avenues to the Soul; whence Dr. BAILY says prettily enough in his *Married Coquet*, 'Did you ever see me tangling Eye-beams with any Female?' an Image, that could occur only to a Physiologist. In brief, when we consider the very extraordinary Proportion and *Apparatus* of Nerves allotted to the Functions of this Organ; the intimate *Nexus* between its Office and that of the imaginative Faculty of our immortal Essence; and farther reflect on the certain Effects of our different Passions on these animated Habitations of our Souls; tho' it will not demonstrate the precise Mode of their *Hypostasis* or Union, nor the perfect Nature of abstract Mind, which, like the Eye, perceives all Things but itself, any corporal Impressions thro' its Mediation will, like many other *Phænomena* we familiarly see, and cannot account for, surprize us less.

After

After all that has been urged against the impressive Force of the Imagination of pregnant Women, too many visible Effects, joined to the Sentiments and Attestations of many eminent medical Writers, must preponderate, methinks, to our admitting it. Perhaps it may appear very doubtful to a curious Reader, whether he shall attribute the Infection of a *Fætus*, whose (a) Mother had long before past thro' the Disease (but in the latter Months of her Pregnancy attended her Husband in it, without the least variolous Consequence to herself) to a material, or, if we may be allowed the Expression, to an ideal Infection. As the *Fætus* is not supposed to respire in the Womb; and has most probably no Inhalation there of any Thing exterior to the Mother, so many Avenues to Contagion are closed up. It seems difficult to conceive that the Humours of the Mother, which had been already discharged of the *Pabulum* necessary to the Disease, were a Vehicle or *Medium* of Contagion to the *Fætus*; especially if we embrace that Opinion, which supposes no Circulation of red Blood between the Mother and it, but concludes it elaborated by the foetal Organs out of the Humours absorbed by the *Placenta*; as we see the red Blood of the Chick in *Ovo* manifestly elaborated without any further

(a) Memini mulierem quandam, quae ipsa morbum hunc diu ante perpeffa erat, marito suo, eodem laboranti, sub finem graviditatis assidue affidentem, foetum recto partus tempore enixam esse. Et illa quidem de variolis nihil contraxit; foetus vero mortuus, totoque corpore, mirum visu! pustulis foedatus se nondum in luminis oras egressum lue hac consumptum fuisse manifeste comprobavit. Mead *de variolis*. P. 66, 67.

further Communication from the Hen, than that of incubating animal Heat. But supposing the non-infectable *Serum* capable of conveying Infection, it is unknown how long the variolous *Aura* (which may be received by all) is retained in such Constitutions as are no longer obnoxious to its morbidic Operation. I never remember myself uneasy under respiring it, except in the first Patient I saw, who had a great Quantity, with great Putrescence, the Stench of which, after a little Qualmishness, purged me; I can also recollect a single Pustule on my upper Lip after it. Indeed Physicians, largely employed in this Distemper, must be very disagreeably situated, if even such Consequences were not very unusual. Yet it must be retained some Time in the Mother's Fluids, to impart a material Infection; and possibly in Consequence of her Pregnancy with a Subject so very susceptible of the Disease, they might be more retentive of it: While its occurring, however contracted, before the Birth, must infer its *Pabulum* congenerate with us, and virtually existent in the *Ovum*, *Semen*, or both: or otherwise the Humours, that constitute and nourish the *Fætus*, must have acquired, in his System, a Disposition they had lost in their own. The Infection from an infected Mother is conceivable and common enough, since the Stream may well be as impure as the Fountain. And tho' even in the present Case I do not presume to exclude a material Infection, because I find it very difficult to discover the Admission, or

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investigate the * Rout, of it: Yet, that the Circumstance of the Mother's Imagination being perpetually occupied with the Appearances of this Disease, in so interesting a Subject, might excite the Operation of a plentiful variolous *Fomes* in her Fruit, without material Contagion, is to me, one of those many difficult Probabilities,

—*Quae nequeo monstrare et sentio tantum.* HOR.

The most obvious, if not the only, practical Inference from this Speculation is, that it were to be wished all Persons, residing in large and populous Towns, and recently recovered from this Disease; especially as many as wear the severest Traces of it, would, where their Condition will admit of it, impose a reasonable Confinement or Recess on themselves, for the possible Benefit of such as are still liable to it.

But as we are susceptible of Impressions also, from Discourse and Reflection, it would be still more surprizing, if this Infection could be created, as it were, by frequent talking, thinking, or from a constant Dread of it; to which last Motive

* Air may undoubtedly be involved in the Fluid communicated from the Mother to the Fœtus, and such Air be contaminated with the inspired Contagion, that was inoperative on the Humours of the first Recipient, though it must have found a luxuriant *Fomes* in the foetal Blood. This however must give us such a Notion of the exquisite Minuteness and Penetration of the Particles of this Poison, as may nearly equal those of the magnetical or electrical *Effluvia*: and it is too natural for us to hesitate at such abstract Suppositions, as our Imagination, that is chiefly affected by sensible Objects, is inadequate to the Defiguration of: tho' perhaps the Number and Variety of the evanescent Modifications of Matter may equal those which are humanly perceptible.

tive *Lucretius* (a) impiously ascribes the first Notions of a Deity. In fact we have never known nor heard, that in Countries, far removed from this Contagion, any Horror of it has ever produced its Effects in the most inflammable Constitutions, and under the most inflammatory Way of living; tho' in a variolous Atmosphere People have been known to colour on the Disease being mentioned, and to sicken very soon after: one Instance of this I have really seen, but must observe, that the Gentleman, who was preparing for Inoculation, had very imprudently been at the Theatre the Evening before. He got well thro' a large Crop of the distinct Small Pox. Mr. BOYLE

C 2

attests

(a) *Primus in orbe deos fecit timor.* —————

I should conceive for my own Part, that a truly intellectual Reflexion, abstracted from every religious Pre-occupation, would suggest the Wisdom of God, from a full Survey of the Creation, as instantaneously as his Power: since the absurd Exercise of the utmost Power must impress but a very uncouth Idea of Perfection. Now the Attribute of Wisdom would be apt to excite Admiration and Respect: tho' Love or Fear might be indifferently suggested from the Conception of his Power, according to the different Scene and Situation in which the unexperienced, but unprejudiced, intelligent Creature at once found himself; whether in a soft and temperate Climate, blooming with every Object to excite and gratify his natural Appetites; or in an extremely fervent or rigid one, surrounded with all the terrifying *Phænomena* of Nature, afflicted with painful Sensations, and finding nothing desirable or lenient. The latter Scene might well indeed inspire him with that Dread we conceive from the rigorous Exercise of a cruel Superiority: tho' surely the former must equally operate to the Effusion of Love and Gratitude, when we considered his Power as essential to our Comfort as his Wisdom: whence Hope might act as equivalently to the Belief of the Deity as Fear. But as *Lucretius* has had no Regard to this Consideration, and speaks, on this Occasion, rather like an Advocate *ex parte*, than a Judge, who is to survey and ballance every Circumstance, he is certainly too partial here to be philosophical. But this by the Way.

attests his having seen a Lady of Condition masked, on Account of the Small Pox, at a Visit, whose Husband then present inform'd him, she was seized with them on hearing a Person inadvertently mention the Lady's Sister having them, which was before carefully concealed from her, there having been no Intercourse between them during her Sister's Disease. (1) But throughout *British America* they have always been able to trace every Visitation from it up to its manifest * Introduction. And besides that nothing is more generally certain than the Observation of *Horace*, that we are more languidly impressed by hearing than seeing, we must reflect that the morbid Effects of this Poison and the Vestiges of it are as proper Objects of Sight, as a Landscape, a Face, or any visible Object, which no verbal Description can infuse an exact reviviscible Idea of; tho' even a Pourtrait of them may, while the Life or Original communicates such a vivid and impressing one, as we can easily recollect. Yet tho' Contagion is not conveyable by meer Rumour, the (a) Dread, that is sometimes excited by it, has

(1) Vol. 1. P. 513. Where is also annexed another extraordinary and well attested Instance of the Effects of Terror. Dr. *Fuller* has three Instances of this Infection from Fear or Fancy, in his *Exanthematologia*. P. 189.

* It must be reasonable to infer from this, that such a Disposition of the Air, as several medical Writers have thought sufficient of itself to generate the Small Pox, previous to the least personal Contagion, has never hitherto occurred in the new World, whatever it may hereafter. The Climate of its Nativity may possibly be more obnoxious to a Reproduction of it.

(a) Etiam qui sunt timidi, et maxime hunc morbum (*variolas*) perhorrescunt, in eum promptius incidunt; timore enim miasmatis particulae a superficie corporis intus convehuntur.

Willis de Febris. P. 118.

has been thought by eminent Physicians to render the Subjects of any popular Contagion more readily and fatally impressible by it, whenever it shall approach their Residence. And indeed as great and habitual Fear is attended with an unusual Waste or Depression of the nervous Influence, whence a less vivid and generous Circulation, and thence a diminish'd Perspiration; it is not improbable that the *vasa inhalantia*, in such a State, may be more absorbent of any ambient Contagion, at the very Juncture when the Blood is likely to be more foul and cacochymic; both from the impaired Functions of the Organs, and from an Abatement of its ordinary Secretions and Excretions. Be this as it may, it must be surprizing to reflect, that the Relation of his Recovery to a variolous Patient (whose real Disease, by Reason of his excessive Dread of it, was concealed from him throughout his Decumbiture) had such a mortal Effect, that he instantly dropped down dead without uttering a single Word; which is said, to the certain Knowledge of many, to have happened to a noble Patient of the late ingenious Dr. HOLLINGS: and this was near to being the Case of a Patient of two present eminent Physicians, who fell directly into a Fit from the same Occasion, but out of which he recovered; both which Facts have been affirmed to me by one of the Gentlemen concerned in the last. They have indeed no direct Reference to Contagion, but shew how very affectingly the Mind may be shocked with the

Idea of it, however excited. The Survivor here can only affirm, whether this were owing to Joy or Surprize; as an Excess of either might render the sentient Principle inattentive to the Accumulation of the Blood in the right Ventricle of the Heart; whence no *Systole* ensuing, a fatal Collapse of the pulmonary Arteries and the Lungs might ensue, and the Circulation instantaneously stop. This mortal Effect others, in (1) a briefer Manner, attribute to the sudden Exhalation of the vital Spirits, from the instantaneously excessive Perspiration of the Brain and Heart. In such surprizing Events however it were prudent not to omit an artificial Inflation of the Lungs, as we are informed that a (2) Man, seemingly dead for above half an Hour, had been recovered by this Means.

It is too obvious however, that all the different Modes or Admissions of Contagion furnish us with no Idea of the Size, Shape, Texture or Density of its Particles. We are unwilling to assert what will admit of no Proof; but it is not irrational to suppose, that from the first Degree of Exility, where Objects commence invisible to human Sight (since many Insects must surely see such as evade ours) there are innumerable minuter ones of material Existence, that mock all organical and artificial Inspection; whence we may conceive Exility as endless as Magnitude. We should be apt indeed to surmise, that Particles so extremely light and attenuated would be incapable of any violent Operation on the human Sys-

(1) Sanctör, De Gorter.

(2) Medical Essays. Vol. 5. Art. 55.

System; did we not reflect, that the Degrees of Motion, annexed to different Modifications of Matter, are as innumerable as those of Extension; that Velocity may be rendered equivalent to Weight; and that Form too is equally multifarious, complex, and considerably operative. We should further contemplate, how porous and yielding many Particles of our animal Fluids may be, and how adapted to attract, and be impressed by, the invisible Seeds of this Contagion: as certain palpable Poisons are known, like different Menstruums, to have their appropriate Subjects, some acting on the Membranes, some on the Blood, and others, not improbably, on the animal Spirits. The fusing irritating Operation of this invisible Venom might induce us to suppose its Particles spicular, sharp, or angular: but as they are generally received without a very remarkable Irritation, and not seldom insensibly, they may perhaps be smooth, and even spherical, on their Admission; 'till after having been lodged and macerated a certain Term in their proper Soil, the human Blood, they burst their aerial *Capsulae* and germinate, emitting their Contents, and attracting the assimilable Parts of the Blood; the Sphericity and Smoothness of whose Globules they probably more or less impair. In some Habits they multiply themselves and destroy its Cohesion, to such a Degree, that the red *Cruor* passes off by the Glands of the Kindneys, Intestines, &c. and attenuate it so far in all (probably by an Increase of its intestine, as well as circula-

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tory,

tory, Motion) that the variolated Particles are transmitted to the Surface thro' those strait Passages, which, as red Globules, they could not pass in a healthy State; while the *Foveae*, or Pitts, they leave in the Teguments evince their own corroding Quality, or the perverted *Crisis* of their involving Fluids. Hence they gradually transpire, and often with a monstrous Increase, moulded perhaps, in some of the perspirable animal Vapour, to the same invisible Form in which the Patient received them.

Many of these Effects of this Contagion are abundantly certain and perceivable, tho' whatever is supposed of its Essence and Form is wholly conjectural. And as we perceive its Effects manifestly propagated from Man to Man, the Difficulty of accounting for this Disease in the first, who could receive it from no other, the variolous *Adam*, or Prototype, as we may term him, put Dr. LISTER on imagining, that both this and the venereal Disease were first occasioned by the Bite, or by eating, of some venomous Animal; a Supposition rather whimsical than judicious. For were we to suppose (what has never been known) that the eating, or Bite, of a venomous Animal might be attended with such an Alteration of the Blood, as should terminate in Pock-like Eruptions, with the general Symptoms and Stages of the Small Pox, it is not equally supposable, that the *Effluvia* from Pustules, so excited, should communicate the same plenary Effect with the admitted, or injected *Virus* which produced them,
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and so extend the Disease to an indefinite Succession of Subjects, in whom the primary Cause never existed. Our Prison Distemper, which must be ascribed to the Force of very foul *Effluvia*, does not appear to be infectious in the * second Instance or *Series*; since those Spectators, who are infected (and too often fatally) by the Stench of the Prisoners, and are wholesomely and sweetly lodged, do not infect their Physicians or Attendants; but are very probably infected themselves by the immediate primary Cause of the Disease, the feculent excrementitious animal *Effluvia*, transported from the Jail to the Court in the Cloaths, or from the Persons of the Prisoners, tho' not actually then under the Disease themselves; and to the greater Diffusion and Malignity of which the Heat, Press, and Want of fresh ineffæte Air, in the Court (more crowded than the Prison) may well contribute. As a potent and contagious Poison then is generable from the

* This we conceive will hold good, notwithstanding a few Histories contained in some late Magazine, and ascribed to the ingenious Dr. PRINGLE. One of them affirms the Infection of a Woman without Newgate, who took it from her Husband, a Carpenter, frequently employed in the Jail about the Ventilator; and who, besides the Infection he inspired, probably brought more home in his Cloaths, whence his Wife's might be equally from the primary Cause with his own, and with that of the Gentlemen infected in Court. Besides which, we conceive that the Lodging of some poor People in close little Apartments, and unventilated Allies, and their wretched Way of living from Necessity, Uncleanliness, or both, may produce Vapours not much less feculent and deleterious than those in Newgate: since we do not suppose the Air there rendered such by the Crimes of its Inhabitants, but by their Confluence and Confinement, their Squallidity and Wretchedness.

the Accumulation of excrementitious animal Vapours, will it not admit of some Doubt, whether Animals, expiring suddenly or soon in the Air-Pump, die solely from the *meer* Exclusion of elastic, or otherwise, vivifying Air; or whether the Retention of their own Vapours may not a little concur to it, as a positive and material Cause, with the Privation of Air? I have heard from Gentlemen, who have resided in *Turkey*, that the Plague has been seldom known to rage, as it is probably never bred, but in large and populous Cities; which, with regard to Health, and to the Contingence of Fire too, should never be too close and narrow. For doubtless, not only the Temperature of our Climate, but the great Flux and Reflux of the *Thames*; the Draught of Wind that generally accompanies the Course of Rivers; and the airy perflable Situation of this vast and populous City, greatly conduce to the Salubrity of a Place, sometimes as replete with animal Steams as many Prisons are. And here we submit it, whether the greater Mortality by the Small Pox, happening frequently in Winter here, may not, in some Measure, be occasioned, as well by the greater Throng and Press of Residents during that Season, as by their constituting more Subjects of it.

But to conclude this imperfect Contemplation of a Poison, whose Essence we can no more effectually investigate, than we can weigh Light, or analyse Darkness (whence it may seem equally prolix and fruitless to many, tho' it should enter-

entertain a few) we shall observe, that an attentive Consideration of its general Effects may suggest such a tolerable Conception of it, as shall dispose us to the most rational and sanative Treatment of the Disease; by directing such *Regimen* and Remedies as oppose its extreme Effects, without frustrating its *Crisis*; and by inhibiting such, as are generally attended with some of its own Operations. Not that we deny but some very extraordinary Symptoms, whether from an unusual Anomaly of the Disease, or the Idiosyncrasy of a particular Constitution, may justly warrant, from a directly vital Indication, such Method or Medicines, as are not agreeable to the general Disposition of the Small Pox.

Nevertheless tho' we have declined here, and always necessarily must decline, a material *Analysis* of this particular volatile Poison; yet when we treat of its Effects on the Blood, by a Combination with its inherent *Pabulum* there, we shall attempt to delineate the best analogical Idea of it, which the Process of the Distemper, and our moderate Qualifications shall present us.



of



SECTION II.

Of the variolous Fuel, or internal inherent Cause of the Small Pox.

BUT the variolous *Primordia*, however subtil and malignant, would be in-operative, by whatever Inlet admitted, did they not meet with some predisposing Quality or Particles in the Constitution, that afforded them a suitable *Nidus* for their Propagation and Increase.

If we attend here to the obvious Evidence of Facts, the Certainty of this Proposition must be abundantly evinced by our observing, that on the Inflammation consequent of Infection, a greater or less Quantity of inflamed Humour is visibly expelled to the Surface; that on its entire Expulsion the inflammatory Symptoms subside, or considerably remit; and that on the Evaporation of such infected and infecting Humours, the individual Constitution is exempted from a repeated Contamination of this specific Kind. I am sensible that some, who admit this State of the Facts, may attribute such Exemption to an Alteration effected in the Solids, and particularly in the Integuments, by the Disease. This was Dr. **DRAKE**'s Conjecture, who supposed such an Enlargement of the cuticular Ducts and Pores from

from their Distension by it, that they could never afterwards restrain the variolous *Miasmata* sufficiently to repeat their Action on the Humours; whence it should seem, as if he entertained no distinct Notion of a *Pabulum* in the Constitution, specifically appropriate to this Disease; or else thought it either renewable there, or not expelled by any *Crisis* of the Distemper, tho' no longer effectually impressible, from the Accident of a more yielding and patulous Surface.

Had we repeatedly, tho' but rarely, observed, that any former Subject of this Disease, who had past the lightest Degree of it (however contracted) with the smallest Eruption, was sometimes obnoxious to a second Decumbiture from it; while such as had escaped through the confluent, coherent, or a large Proportion of the distinct Kind, and whose Teguments were sensibly altered by them, only escaped a Re-infection *ad unum*, such Facts must have reflected considerable Probability on this *Hypothesis*. But the Contrary to this, the equal Exemption of all who have had the genuine Small Pox, however few or favourable, being established by the Experience of some Centuries, the Fallacy of it is manifest from the same Evidence, that attests the previous Existence and final Extirpation of the variolous *Pabulum*. BOERHAAVE indeed expresses himself (after affirming his Surprise that neither himself nor any other was ever twice attacked with it) as if he imagined the Small Pox left some positive and material Quality in the Constitution, that indemnified

nified it from a second Infection, which suggested to him the Probability of expelling the Contagion, and extinguishing its Effects, by some Specific, without Eruption: (a) but, with Submission to the Memory of so great a Master, it seems more obvious, and equally rational, to suppose, that the inherent Cause of this Disease was expelled with the external, in the separated and discharged Humours.

Some few medical Writers have asserted a second variolous Infection, that is, a sickening and internal, not a merely topical, one. BOERHAAVE says, * a Person having the distinct Sort is still liable to the confluent, but not *e contra*: and Dr. WILLIS has (b) mentioned, not specified, even a third Infection. It were to be wished

(a) Hinc mirum est quid lateat, quod quis non iterum hoc contagio inficiatur; nam ego habui variolas octavo anno aetatis, & nunquam iterum aliquid de contagio sensi, cum tamen tot aegros tractaverim — hinc in his qui illas habuere, aliquid haerere debet, quod facit, ut in illo corpore haerere, nec variolas producere possit, & quod superet hoc venenum; ergo puto in rerum natura esse aliquid, quod illud venenum expellit seu superat, sed artis est invenire. *Prax.* Vol. 5. P. 308.

* Ibid. P. 299. — This, however qualified, considerably contradicts the just cited Assertion, to which indeed it is previous. And here we cannot omit to observe, that tho' the Matter of this *Praxis* is often not unworthy of *Boerhaave*, the Manner and Expression very generally are: since it is not only barbarous and impure, but so very frequently ungrammatical (to say nothing of the Multitude of typographical Errors) as to perplex the Sense. In Fact it is impossible it could have been printed from any MS of his; and it has been said to have been thus published by some of his Pupils, to provoke him to a genuine Edition; though the Provocation was ineffectual.

(b) Licet autem venenata hujus morbi semina ut plurimum semel & unica aegritudine solent diffari; quandoque tamen accidit ut, parte miasmatis relicta, bis aut ter aegri in hunc affectum inciderint. *De Febris*, P. 118. *Oper. in 4to Ed.* 1682.

wished this learned Physician had informed us, whether this were from his own Knowledge, or from Report, which sometimes even Writers of Merit have too lightly acquiesced in. And as other eminent medical Writers, of great Experience and Veracity, have affirmed, that they never recur in the same Subject; as I never personally met with any intelligent Physician or Practitioner, who ever saw such a Re-infection, tho' he must be both the best Judge and likeliest Subject of it himself; and never knew it to occur in any one of some hundreds I have seen in the Disease, I cannot avoid concluding, that such Reports are very generally founded in Deception. A Majority of those supposed to have had this Distemper twice (having manifestly undergone it in Town) had their first Eruption in the Country, where doubtless it is more likely to be mistaken: and as all eruptive Fevers have some common Symptoms in the previous *Apparatus*, which abate or vanish on the *Crisis* of Eruption; as the Swine and Chicken Pox fairly maturate, while the * Crystals fill with more dilute Contents; the Inexperience of the Practitioner, and Ignorance of the By-

* By these are not meant the crystalline Small Pox, but a different eruptive Disease mentioned under this Name by Dr. FULLER in his *Exanthematologia*, which seems to occur but rarely. I saw it once however very plainly, and knew it solely by his Description, which is exact. There was great Sickness, and chiefly, at Stomach, before Eruption, but not the least Complaint or Fever afterwards. The Eruptions were mostly confined to the Face, pretty numerous, larger than the Small Pox, of much quicker Growth, looked not unlike small Vesications excited by a Burn before they are cut, the Contents being very dilute, and, to the best of my Remembrance, not leaving a single Pit.

By-standers, in Places long unvisited by the Small Pox, may subject them all to mistake any of the other for it. And as such other eruptive Fevers are scarcely ever mortal, tho' sometimes attended with considerable Anxiety and Sicknefs before Eruption, the Satisfaction of the Patient and his Friends, and the Reputation of the Practitioner will dispose them all to acquiesce and even exult in the supposed Cure of a perilous Disease, which they unanimously conclude the Patient no longer obnoxious to.

To give the fairest Scope however to this Assertion of a repeated internal Infection, we shall not omit, that Mr. SAM. DWIGHT gives an Account, and, as it should seem, from his own Knowledge, of a Nurse who had the confluent Small Pox twice, and died of a third Infection, from attending a Patient in a high Degree of it: and as she scarcely stirred out of his Room for three Weeks, he ascribes this most extraordinary Disease to that Circumstance. Had I personally known this Author, or been well informed of his Character, I should be better qualified how to estimate his Evidence; which I do not chuse to reject, because his *Latin* is not very elegant; because his Tracts *de Vomitione*, *de Purgatione*, and *de Variolis & Morbillis* contain little new or memorable, tho' he is vehemently solicitous with his Readers not to translate them; nor, finally, because his Name is without any medical Appendage; since Circumstances greatly more important could never undo a Fact: but my Diffidence
arises

arises from his not specifying, that he had seen the Nurse himself in these different Decumbitures from the Small Pox. He says indeed, her Face and Body were miserably scarr'd, *miserrime dilaniata*, by it twice before, a Circumstance in which it was difficult to be mistaken: and tho' such an Instance having never occurred within my own Knowledge, or any Person's of my Acquaintance, renders it not a little indigestible to myself, I refer the Reader to make his own Judgment of it, from the 59th Page of those Tracts printed here in 1722. The chief Circumstance, that inclines me to suppose the Possibility of such a Reinfection, is the second Eruption I have more than once seen in the Small Pox, about the Term of the secondary Fever. These Pustules appear in the Interstices of the former, are smaller, rather more acuminate, and seem to suppurate almost as soon as visible. Dr. MEAD (1) gives a variolous Case, with a third pustulary Eruption, the Disease not being completely terminated before the 30th Day. Could any Circumstance indeed occur in the Process of the Small Pox, that should dispose it to consume but half, or a third, of the *Pabulum*, which is difficult to conceive (and extremely so, where a Patient, like this Nurse, had the confluent Small Pox, and twice too) there would doubtless be no Improbability, that a second Contagion might operate on the Remainder, or, as it formerly did, even on Part of it. These secondary and ternary Eruptions

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(1) Epist. ad Friend.

tions too would make us conclude the secondary Fever certainly to depend on variolous Matter still in the Circulation, rather than upon an Interception of the *Perspirabile* from the crufted Integuments, which inoculating from fuch Eruptions might entirely demonftrate. Very probably however, fupposing Mr. DWIGHT's Account to be Fact, not more than one Conftitution in one Million is liable to fuch repeated and diftant Recrudescences of this Difafe. The *Phaenomenon* is at leaft full as rare in our Microcofm, which fome have termed the human Body, as the Appearance of Planets in the Macrocofm, or Universe.

But were we to admit the poffible Contingence of a fecond Decumbiture from this Difafe; if we found it too difficult to conceive a partial Confumption of its *Pabulum* at different Periods, we muft attribute it to a new Creation, as it were, of that *Pabulum*, which was probably coeval with the Patients very Dawn of Exiftence, extended afterwards thro' his extending *Stamina*, and which had been fince expelled from his Habit, by the Operation of its fpecific and correfponding *Virus*; a Circumftance that ftrongly indicates how very rare fuch a Contingence muft be. Dr. WILLIS indeed fupposes, in the Passage already cited, that the whole * contagious Principles may not be confumed by a fingle Difafe, but fuffice for a fecond and even a third: but furely it appears more

* This he terms *Miasma* here, which we chufe to refer rather to the infecting Principle than to the infected Particles, tho' the variolous *Pus* includes both. It may be queried however whether he did not intend the latter.

more rational to apprehend, that such a copious Ingestion of them into sufficient Fuel would kindle at once to a very dangerous or fatal Explosion. I should as naturally look for this Effect in the mixed and circulating Blood, as for the Deflagration of every Grain of Gunpowder, from the Contact of Fire with any Part of a continuous Train of it, however contorted; tho' by no Means as instantaneous a one.

I have been the more particular on this contingent Restauration of the *Fomes*, which a repeated variolous Infection supposes, as the latter has been more vehemently affirmed, since the use of Inoculation, by its Opponents, who have particularly confined such supposed Re-infection to the inoculated: while its most rational Advocates conclude an efficacious Inoculation just equivalently preservative with the natural Disease. But of the Probability and Proof of this more professedly in a subsequent Section.

Some Physicians have judged this internal predisposing Cause of the Disease more indispensable to its Existence, than the external procatactic one, the Union of which constitutes its immediate Cause. Thus WILLIS affirms, (a) that Persons have been seized with it after a Debauch, or very violent Exercise, when no other for

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(a) Novi quosdam a crapula, aut exercitio immodico in hunc morbum incidisse, cum praeterea nemo circumcirca in tota regione aegrotavit; nimirum sine prævio miasmate latentia hujus mali femina, a nimio sanguinis fervore commota et invicem associata agglomerantur, facileque totam inquinant sanguinis massam, & fermento suo inficiunt. *De Febris* P. 118.

a considerable Distance round about had been of a long Time infected. This looks at first indeed, as if there might be an effectual *Succedaneum* to variolous Contagion (if that could be a *Desideratum* in Physic) while a proper Receptacle, or *Substratum*, for it seems as indispensable to its Operation and Increase, as the Ventricle to that of an Emetic, or the *Ovarium* to Conception: But notwithstanding we can readily conceive Bodies thus circumstanced peculiarly susceptible, and as it were attractive of this Contagion, yet there is the less Certainty of this supposed *Succedaneum* to it, as the Distemper has never been known to occur in the hottest Parts of *America*, under the most inflaming Circumstances, without the manifest Importation of it: And with Regard to the *British* Islands, the Accidents by which Contagion is transferred are often untraceable. The learned and ingenious WERLHOF informs us, (1) from his own Knowledge, that a Girl, who had received a Letter from her Brother, then at some considerable Distance, infected with the Small Pox, sickened some Days after at *Hanover*, and infected others, when the Disease had not been there for some Years before. Now as *London* is never without the Seeds of this Contagion, and often greatly abounds with them, gentle Winds may transmit the variolated Part of our Atmosphere to some Distance; tho' we know at present it has never been extended in that Manner across the Atlantic Ocean.

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(1) De variol. & anthrac. Not. 36. ad P. 16, 17.

The variolous *Primordia* and *Pabulum* then being certainly distinct Parts of Matter, tho' so similar, as to be strongly disposed to coalesce, to the Increase of the former; as often as we are said to have the Seeds of the Small Pox in us, before actual Infection, it can only be true that they are virtually in us, as Grain may be supposed to exist in the unsown Field, to which the human System, before Infection, corresponds here: while the animal Heat and Humours have a considerable Analogy with the elementary Fire and Moisture, that concur to the Growth and Increase of the Grain, when the Seeds are conveyed into the Soil. I need scarcely observe to the physiological Reader here, that when I sometimes call the variolous Principles *Seeds*, or the variolous *Pus* a *Ferment*, I do not literally suppose these invisible Atoms either Seeds separately, or an animal Yeast compoundedly, nor even that they are not such, as I am truly ignorant of their intimate Essence; but that I only use these Metaphors to illustrate their Obscurity a little, by referring to certain analogous Processes and *Phænomena* in Nature, which seem not quite so much concealed from us.

But after our continual Assumption, with many other Physicians, of the two Causes concurring to this Disease, it is but ingenuous to confess, that some others have mentioned no specific *Fomes* of it, as the learned and elegant FERNELIUS considers a particular Disposition of the Air as its sole Cause, and consents to its second and third Infec-

tion of the same Subject. To such considerable Authority however it may be sufficient to oppose that of long Experience, and to answer, that, if it were so in his Time, it is altered since, as *Moliere's* Doctor says of the commuted Situation of the *Viscera* since the Time of HIPPOCRATES: neither is it any Injustice to the Merit of FERNELIUS to suppose this Disease better understood since SYDENHAM than before. But an ingenious Cotemporary, Dr. HAHN, goes still farther in his *Ratio Variolarum* printed at *Wratiflaw* 1751; in which, without denying the Existence of this Contagion and *Fomes* in direct Terms, he is intrepid enough to assert, in Effect, their being insignificant and unnecessary to the Production of the Disease. His bold System briefly is, 'That the Small Pox is not strictly a Distemper, but as natural, and even as necessary, an Evolution of the Body, from the actual Extension and Multiplication of the extreme capillary and superficial Arteries, as that of the Extrusion of the Teeth at their different Periods, of the Appearance of a particular Pilosity, of the Eruption of the *Menstrua* and other Tokens of Puberty, at their ordinary Terms, or of any other corporal Evolution.' Had the learned Author intended this *Hypothesis* as a medical *lusus ingenii*, he had undoubtedly fulfilled the Purpose of an agreeable Amusement to his medical Readers; the Analogy between arborescent and animal Vegetation being very curiously preserved; in which the Pustules are considered

sidered as the Fruit or Berry extruded from the new Shoots, and appended to them by Stalks, or *Pedunculi*, passing thro' the Integuments. But as he sets out with the Air of a serious Conviction of its Reality; we are at a Loss to reconcile it with the Author's Reputation and Knowledge in his Profession; and find it hard to conceive, how he could acquiesce in his own Evasions of the Objections to his *Hypothesis*, and particularly to the insuperable Difficulties it is clogg'd with, from the indisputable Facts of natural and artificial Infection: where we may observe by the Way, that the latter has certainly conduced to give us a more distinct Idea of this Disease, than we had before our Acquaintance with Inoculation.

Taking this peculiar internal Cause then for granted, from the most obvious Reflection on plain Appearances, and their constant Events, we shall endeavour to consider its Quality, and even its Residence; Circumstances not altogether as manifest as its Existence. With Regard to its Residence, I had not the least Thought of confining it to any Spot or Organ of the Body, till I observed, that the elder HOFFMAN was for fixing it, not in the Blood or Humours, but in a virulent Fluid contained in some obstructed Tubes of the spinal Marrow, from the Spine and the Head being first formed in the *Uterus*. We shall not suggest any Solecism here, in this Physician's supposing such a nervous Tubulosity as Anatomy and Microscopes are incapable of discovering; since a

dissected and inspected Nerve may be insufficient to give us an adequate Idea of its vital State, its Action, its Permeability, and still less of its Contents ; and the nervous Cavities being once admitted, their possible Obstruction will be a Consequence. But were we to grant this specific Situation of the variolous *Latex*, which Dr. HAHN terms a divine Detection of the true Mystery of the Small Pox, must we not also grant, that as many as were formed without this nervous Obstruction, are necessarily void of the *Latex*, which is contained in no other Part, and are consequently exempt from the Disease ? And how will this specific Situation of a variolous *Latex* quadrate with the System of variolous Evolution, which the Doctor supposes the meer Result of that necessary Extension and Increase of the capillary Arteries, that should be common to the whole Species, if not to the whole animal Creation, at some Term of their Accretion ? Besides, were this Discovery of the great HOFFMAN's certain and real, might he not obviously deduce it *a posteriori*, from the violent *Lumbago* so frequently previous to the confluent Small Pox, without any supernatural Penetration or Assistance ? For my own Part, I find it easier to subscribe to their Opinion, who suppose it especially lodged in the circulating Blood, where it may probably be more concentrated or diffused, in Proportion to its different Quantity and Energy in different Subjects.

Such as have concluded some Impurity, or *La-
bes*, of the menstrual Blood to be the internal
Cause

Cause of the Small Pox, have also concluded a peculiar Disposition of the Air, or any inflaming Accident, sufficient to excite the morbid Explanation of it, without any peculiar Contagion. Many Moderns, agreeing, in this Respect, with the *Arabian* Writers, have considered the Disease as an Effervescence and Despumation of the Blood, necessary to its Defæcation, and compared it to the Transition of Must into Wine. Undoubtedly, as human Blood, it is the Soil or *Substratum* of this Malady for once; tho' not from any peculiar Malignity of the menstrual Blood, which it is absurd to suppose the plastic Wisdom of Nature would malignantly employ for the Constitution of her noblest sublunary Creature; and which, if she did, since the Effect must be as extensive as the Cause, must inevitably subject the whole Species, who are similarly constituted from it, to an indiscriminate and early Attack of the Small Pox without Contagion, a Consequence manifestly contrary to irrefragable Experience. Yet from such a Notion it is not improbable that the *Chinese* Physicians recommend that peculiar *Prophylaxis* from this Disease, mentioned by DIGBY and by HARRIS, which was no more than squeezing the Blood from the Navel-string of the Infant outwards, before the Ligature is made. These Physicians are highly commended for their Abilities by some of the historical Missionaries, and particularly for their extraordinary, and, to me incredible, Prognostics from the Pulse: but certainly

tainly it argues a gross Ignorance of that Circulation on which it depends, to suppose that all the variolable Particles of the Infant's Blood should be confined to the Conduit of the umbilical Chord.

As we shall venture then to suppose this congenial *Fomes* pretty equably diffused thro' the Blood, so we think it likely that it is not impressible by any different Contagion, and very rarely, if ever, excited by the Causes or Operation of other Distempers: since notwithstanding we cannot be certain, that the more humoral Part of it may not accidentally co-operate in some febrile Cases, it has never been known that any acute or chronic Disease terminated in this, when the Patient has been certainly secure from variolous Contagion. Neither does it appear to be singly morbid, as Experience abundantly evinces, that even a mortal Quantity of it has remained very indolently in many remarkably healthy Constitutions, for many Years, before its fatal Conjunction with the primary Cause. Now, tho' to investigate, with any Precision, what *the whole* of this *Fomes* is, be a Difficulty little inferior to the Defiguration of the invisible Seeds of its corresponding Contagion; yet Experience and Reflexion contribute to suggest some probable Conjectures of those particular Principles in our Composition, which are most susceptible, and further constitutive, of those Seeds. *Boerhaave* specifies the (1) *Salino-oleose Temperament* as disposed to the severest Degrees of the

(1) Aph. 1397,

the Small Pox. Thus very bilious Constitutions have been observed to be violently affected by it; and Chemistry instructs us, that Bile has a considerable Proportion of volatile Salt and Oil in its Composition. We are not a little obliged to the ingenious and indefatigable Dr. LANGRISH, for his *Analysis* of the human Blood, and Urine in a healthy, and in an * inflammatory State; by which we observe, that the volatile Salts and Oil were considerably increased in the latter, and the Lymph somewhat abated; and that in Proportion to the Mitigation of the Symptoms the Urine was more impregnated with those *salino-volatile* and sulphureous Parts. Now if we suppose (what is not improbable) that the variolous *Pabulum* partly consists of those peculiarly active and inflammable Principles, the Supposition will not be a little countenanced by the general Observation of Children (whose dilute, simple, acescent Food may be deemed to furnish but a small Proportion of these high Principles) being infected with the lighter Degrees of this Disease; tho' undoubtedly other Circumstances may concur to this. It will be further corroborated too from our observing that, among Adults, those of a lax Fibre and moist Habit, and such as have been rendered pale and low by previous Hæmorrhages and Intermittents, provided these have left no Obstructions of the *Viscera*, are generally visited with slighter variolous Symptoms, than others who are
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* Mr. Boyle acknowledges the human Blood, which he analysed, was taken only from healthy Persons, who bled from Custom.

remarkably vegete and plethoric; of if thin, at the same Time, fallow, dry and rigid: since we find from those useful *Analyses*, that the sound Urine, which may be chiefly separated from the *Serum* (tho' probably charg'd with some recrementitious Abrasions from the Fibres and fibrous *Cruor*) contained almost a third Part less volatile Salt than the Blood taken altogether; tho' full four Times as much fixt Salt, which Dr. LANGRISH rationally concludes, from its sensible Resemblance to * Sea Salt, to depend chiefly on that Proportion of it usually added to our Food.

The same Supposition will obviously account too for the severer Infections, that happen after indulging on high Meats and Sauces, and rich strong Liquors, which may be considered as supplying an adventitious *Pabulum* to the Disease; or after considerable heating by violent Exercise, or long Infolation, which tend to exalt that already in it, while they produce an extraordinary and unwholesome *Dispendium* of the Lymph so necessary to its Dilution. And here we could have wished, in order to a better Estimation of what Proportion of the palpable variolous *Fomes* the *Serum* in sound and in inflamed Bodies might contain, that the Doctor had further obliged us with its chemical *Analysis* distinct from the *Crassamentum*, and before it became extravasated and excrementitious as Urine; which, from a sensible Difference

* This was established beyond Doubt, by Mr. Boyle's dissolving Leaf Gold immediately in *Aqua fortis* without Heat, on adding some Grains of the fixed Salt of human Blood to the Menstruum.
Vol. P. 171.

rence in Smell and Taste, must be loaded with a greater Proportion both of sulphureous and saline Parts than the circulating *Serum*; one Purpose of this Excretion very probably being to prevent an insalutary Accumulation of these Principles in the Mass, and to make room for a further Dilution and Attemperation of it. It seems rational however to infer, from the smaller Quantity of them even in the excrementitious *Serum*, that in its ordinary State it is pregnant with a less Proportion of this *Fomes* than the red Globules, which from their greater Surface and more solid, tho' yeilding and fibrous Contexture, seem to constitute a fitter Soil for the Reception, as well as Nourishment, of the Seeds of this Contagion. The more simple and aqueous Part of the *Serum* may not improbably attemper and even restrain their irritating Effects; but the more it is inclined to a high alcalescent, bilious, or scorbutic Dyscrasy, it must be the less adapted to such a Purpose.

But further, as the Solids and Fluids are composed of the same Principles, it may be asked, whether the fleshy and vascular, the nervous, and even bony Fibres, contain any Portion of this *Fomes*? And this the rather, as Dr. BUTINI, in his late *Traité rationelle de la petite Verole, &c.* (1) asserts it to reside in the Solids, from its frequent long Dormancy in the Subject. But if the Susception of the variolous *Miasma* appears constantly necessary to excite and actuate it, the Term of its Dormancy can suggest but little of its precise
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Residence. However, as the Solids were at first in a State of Fluidity, and continue to be nourished and repaired by the Blood, it seems reasonable to infer, that they may contain some Share of it. But as the common Principles of both vary in their Proportions, and very manifestly in their Modification and Consistence before their Separation by Fire, it seems equally reasonable to suppose too, that in the lighter and even middling Degrees of the Small Pox, those Particles, now contributing to constitute the Solids, which, in their fluid State, were assimilable by the contagious Cause, are no longer so in their more fixed and renitent Form. Yet must we admit, that even in a sound Condition of the human System, there is an incessant and reciprocal Commutation of the same Particles into a fluid and solid Consistence. Our Aliment must be reduced to a considerable Degree of Fluidity to become such: it must in Part be consolidated afterwards, to be effectually applied to the constant necessary Repair of our Machine; and the abraded Particles of our Solids must be attenuated to an exquisite Fluidity, to be expelled thro' the invisible Outlets of our Surface. In some morbid Cases the Fluids have been found to concrete, the Vessels to ossify, and the very Brain has appeared (1) lapidescent; in others the Fibres colligate and melt, and the (2) Bones have grown soft and flexible. And thus here, from the intimate Relation and Inter-

course

(1) Dr. *Simson's* Inquiry, P. 259, &c.

(2) *Ephemer. German.*

course between the nourished and nourishing Parts, if the latter abound excessively with this Fuel, the Consequence may not only prove an extreme and fatal Attrition of the red Globules, whence the Purples, or bleeding Pox, with all its dreadful irremediable Symptoms; but even an erosive Colliquation of the Solids may supervene to the Production of Gangrenes: and if a Patient in this horrid Situation could exist long enough for it, a *Caries* of the Bones might ensue.

Thus much perhaps may but too prolixly suffice to infuse some Idea of the humoral *Fomes* of this Disease. But besides this it must be confessed, there is something much less investigable in the human System, some impalpable Essence or Quality, the Expulsion or Extinction of which is the especial Cause of our Privilege from a second variolous Attack. Common Sense sufficiently inculcates, that whatever present Alteration this Disease may effect in the Proportions of those Principles compounding the Blood, the Principles themselves must, in some Degree, continue; and in a short Time most probably resume their wonted Proportions; since a material Defect of the active Principles would as certainly be morbid as their Excess. A Recourse to the usual Way of living, the same Tone and Action of the Solids, the same concoctive Powers, and the same Strainers must elaborate Blood of the same *Crafs* and Temperature. Yet all this Experience demonstrates insufficient to regenerate the same Dis-

Disease in the once infected Subject. Is the material *Fomes* then but the principal Vehicle of this connate *Vapour* perhaps, which, like the Contagion that impregnates it, eludes all Investigation? Is the volatile *Fomes* that inscrutable Essence, which specifically distinguishes the human Blood from that of all Animals, which affords the same Principles on chemical *Analysis*, and yet is not the Subject of this and some other Contagions? Has it any considerable Analogy with the Air that is fixed and quiescent for a Time in all our containing Parts, and is it inflamed or rendered elastic by the Spark of Contagion? Is it commixed with that volatile Spirit of the *Semen*, which probably pierces and fecundates the *Ovum*; and is it attracted, during the Formation of the *Foetus*, by the most active Principles of its Fluids? Or is it only a meer Quality, depending on such a peculiar Mode or Degree of Cohesion in the Mass, as it never exactly resumes again, after its having been once unravelled by this Disease? After the utmost Suggestions I must be content, methinks, to treasure up its explicite Nature among my numerous *Incognita*; and apprehend a much better Penetration than mine may safely presume with the learned WERLHOF, (1) that it will never be satisfactorily explained.

With Regard then to the humoral Part of the *Fomes*, a sagacious Physician may generally form a reasonable Estimation of its Quantity in different Habits and Circumstances, and frequently lessen

(1) De variol. P. 20.

lessen and attemper it by proper Methods. But in Respect to the Portion and Energy of this evanescent inscrutable Part of it, the most judicious may be mistaken, as a fatal Infection has sometimes occurred in Subjects, whose Complexion, Age and Temperament seemed happily circumstanced for the Small Pox. It may be affirmed however, that this happens but rarely, as the humoral *Fomes* seems as indispensable to the Disease as the latent one; and it is reasonable to suppose they are generally rather proportional.

But whatever this Fuel may consist of in the Aggregate, we are certain it abounds considerably more in some Constitutions than in others: Children at the Breast and the Fœtus have died from its Excess: some few in the utmost Vigour of their Life have had a very gentle Disease from its Paucity and Mildness; and WERLHOF informs us, (a) from his own Knowledge, of a *German* Peasant, who past thro' it with great Facility at the Age of eighty.

Could we then, without a violent Consequence, wholly expell or eradicate this Fuel from the Habit before Contagion, it must be just equivalent to an effectual Antidote against it. But tho' the Divine Omnipotence has not permitted us thus entirely to elude those Shafts that fly by Day and Night, His infinite Compassion has indulged Mankind a different Method of having

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(a) Ut nuperrime observavi in rustico octuagenario, qui tota fere vita sanissimus variolas distinctas egregie in ista aetate exsuperavit. *De variol.* P. 21.

them pervade our Bodies with very little Trouble, comparatively speaking, and still less Fatality. And indeed it is no small Happiness that we can form, upon the whole, a clearer Idea of this *Fomes* which we contain, and can, in some Measure, diminish and attemper, than of the external Principle, whose ingested Quantity we cannot ascertain, by natural Infection at least, and whose Quality we cannot perhaps alter at all, or not, without preventing its indemnifying Operation. It seems further probable, that the *Quantum* and Energy of this inherent Principle most essentially constitutes the Degree and Character of the Disease: For tho' different Constitutions of that Air we continually infume may be disposed more or less to propagate, or to enforce, the Operation of this Contagion, as the State of our Solids and Fluids may be variously affected by them; yet Inoculation has abundantly demonstrated, that an insensible Quantity of the very same infectious Matter effects a large Assimilation in some Bodies, while a ten-fold Quantity has not produced the tenth Part in others. Where this *Fomes* then is naturally small and mild, the variolous *Primordia* must be assisted by some very malignant Adjunct from the reigning Constitution, or the Disease must have been treated very absurdly, to produce a violent and anomalous Small Pox. Where it is very copious and energetic, the mildest Season and simplest Contagion can scarcely fail to excite a severe Degree in the natural Way. We may well then recommend a
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careful and rational Regulation of this Principle to every Inoculator.

Hoc saltem minuas, hoc tu compesce catena.

And if Inoculation afforded us but this single Advantage, it must certainly be a sufficient Enforcement of the Practice.

As a Matter of some Curiosity, we shall close this Section with observing, that the Circumstances of a specifically morbid *Pabulum*, and the Kindling and compleat Extinction of it by a specific Contagion, seem almost peculiar to this Disease and the * Measles, since we have the best Assurances that Persons have been a second and third Time attacked with the Plague, and twice even in the same Season. We have seen an acute Fever however on the Continent of *America* in 1732, which, under a simple rational Treatment, destroyed about the same Proportion with the Small Pox, one in six or seven, taken all together; and are positive that, on a second Visitation from it in 1739, not one Person who had the former was affected with this, and very few others escaped it. The Symptoms in both were entirely similar, tho' its different Treatment the last Time considerably aggravated them, and raised the Mortality to that of a severe confluent Pock, which some have thought to equal that of the Plague.

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* Tho' this may be the Case too of the Swine and Chicken Pox, and a few other febrile Eruptions, which never return again, we scarcely consider them as Diseases, since Physicians are very seldom called in to them.

If any other acute epidemical Fevers observe the same Distinction, it seems to have been little adverted to by medical Writers; and this may be partly referred perhaps to that Disproportion between the Brevity of Life and the Extent of medical Disquisition, which the contemplative HIPPOCRATES (a) hints at, as one Cause of the Defect of the Art.

(a) Ὁ βίος βραχυς, ἢ ὅ τεχνὴ μακρὴ. L. 1. Aph. 1.





SECTION III.

Of the Progress and Operation of the Contagion.

THE Coalition of the variolous *Effluvia* and *Fomes* immediately constituting this Disease, the Title of this Section might naturally incline the Reader to expect a Delineation of its ordinary Symptoms and Progression. But this having been most happily effected by the great SYDENHAM; being transcribed from him by some, with very little Improvement, and by others, not without Depravation, must prove the *Crambe centies cocta*: we shall therefore rather invite the attentive Reader to a Survey of the Progress of this Contagion through the Habit, in the most usual Modes of its accidental and voluntary Admission; and thence surmise, at least, its earliest Impressions on the Blood, before they are considerable enough to manifest the Disease. Now tho' our Knowledge of the Circulation, and a tolerable Acquaintance with the animal Oeconomy, may furnish some Idea of its Rout and Reception, its manner of Operation can only be conjectured from its sensible Effects.

Suppose the variolous *Effluvia* then, in the most usual Rout of accidental Infection, conveyed into the Stomach with the *Saliva*; it has not been known, from its immediate Effects, to be a Poison *per se* affecting the Membranes: it excites no Irritation there, nor was the Imbiber sensible of its affecting the Organ of Taste. The uncertain Quantity imbibed was, however, comparatively small; it had not yet arrived at the Soil for its Propagation, which seems to be the Blood itself, and not the *Saliva* secreted from it. We cannot suppose the Warmth of the Stomach likely to extinguish its Activity. From the peristaltic Motion, and very gradual *Systole*, of this Organ, it will be detruded with some of its Contents into the *Duodenum*; where it meets with the Bile and pancreatic Juice; the former of which being peculiarly impregnated with the active and stimulating Principles of the Blood, will scarcely lessen its Virofity. But as yet it has only met with such a Portion of this Fluid, as is insensibly effused into the alimentary Tube to assist in Chylification, and for other oeconomical Purposes; and now being in its Progress blended with the Chyle, it may probably produce some Variation in its Texture, according to the Quality of its Contents, which suggests the Prudence of a due Regard to the Diet of Persons in the Way of Infection. Being admitted, with the new Chyle containing it, within those exquisitely minute Orifices of the Lacteals, which are said to elude the Inspection of the best Microscopes, we will
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suppose it to receive but little Addition or Exaltation from the Lymph (in its simplest healthy State) with which the Chyle is diluted before its Arrival at the thoracic Duct; thro' which gradually rising it is instilled with its involving Chyle into the subclavian Vein; and from thence by a short Rout conveyed thro' the descending *Cava* to the right Auricle and Ventricle of the Heart. And now being in the Way of Diffusion thro' the Mass, if it finds a considerable Quantity of constitutional, or adventitious Fuel for its Increase, we may well exclaim,

Heu quantas acies stragemque ciebit!

But it may be observed, this is not often very hastily effected, as these morbid Seeds, like those of Vegetables, generally take some Term to remain in the Soil before they germinate, and attract that Nourishment, that is to multiply them more or less.

If we suppose the Infection wholly conveyed with the Air into the *Trachea*, it will be applied to the pulmonary Vesicles, and admitted into the Blood with the blended Air, and thence conveyed to the left Ventricle of the Heart by the pulmonary Vein, a much shorter Rout than that by the alimentary and chyliferous Passages; whence an earlier Assimilation might be expected, supposing the Poison admitted thro' the *Oesophagus* to receive no additional Activity from the Heat of the Stomach and Intestines. As the Moment of inspiring the Contagion is seldom adverted to, we cannot

cannot say, whether it is sufficiently irritative to excite a Cough by its immediate Contact with the Membrane of the *Trachea*, or the Vesicles, which are less defended by a *Mucus* than the Stomach and Intestines. Were it capable of producing any such Inflammation on the unwounded internal Surface of the Lungs, as it does on the incised *Cutis*, we might too reasonably apprehend a bad Event from it in such a vital and inquiscent Organ. But we had already presumed it was not a Poison immediately affecting the Membranes; since their frequent Irritations, on the actual Exertion of the Disease, some Days after Infection, are most probably owing to the heterogeneous *Crafs* of the variolated Blood, the different Secretions from which will be correspondently irritative.

Were we to suppose the Infection received by the Smell so entirely, that no Part of it descended either into the *Oesophagus* or *Trachea*; tho' it has a particular Scent, we do not find it irritative enough for a Sternutatory; nor so pungent as the invifible *Effluvia* of volatile Spirits or Salts. The Fibrills of the olfactory Nerves are nevertheless evidently affected: yet since we can conceive, that the inforbing Vessels in *Sneider's* Membrane may convey the Contagion to the Blood, let us suppose it so for the present, to distinguish humoral from nervous Infection, for which there is probably some practical Reason. As it will be gradually diffused hence thro' the Jugulars and Subclavians to the *Cava* and the Heart, there may perhaps be little particular in the Infection, merely of the Blood, this Way; except that the first

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Impression, being made on this very sensible Membrane, may produce a more than usual Proportion of Pustules here, which must be troublesome at least in the Course of the Disease, from their affecting Respiration, and Deglutition in Consequence.

As Inoculation may justly be supposed the most immediate and simple Contamination of the Blood, we observe, that in order to it, a very slight and superficial Wound or two is made, which is irritative of itself, as some nervous Fibrills are divided and exposed. The *Virus* coming into immediate Contact with the Orifices of the divided capillary Vessels and their Contents, by first altering and affecting these, must make the little Discharge irritate the Orifice more, and dispose it to a more ulcerated State, than the unaltered Fluids would in a simple Wound. This Circumstance will naturally be attractive or derivatory of a more than usual Afflux of Humours to the infected and unresisting Part: And accordingly we observe a little Heat and Itching about the Incisions considerably before any other Complaint. The Poison is, or should be, conveyed into the most superficial Capillaries, where the Circulation is the slowest, the Number of circulating Globules comparatively few, their Size probably comminuted from Subdivision, and the Degree of Heat but moderate. Its Diffusion through Vessels so circumstanced must be attended with a very gradual Assimilation, and it is not seldom found, for some Time, so merely topical, that a Tingling

ling to the Extremity of the inoculated Member is perceivable, a few Days before any such general Laffitude, or erratic Flushings, as signify its Operation on the whole Mass. This is most probably owing to the earlier Alteration of the Fluids in the more immediately communicating superficial Capillaries, twitching their nervous Fibrills; and may prove one Means of inviting a greater Proportion of the future Pustules to the first infected Limb; a Part which, however necessary, is not essentially vital; but which, on this Occasion, by continually and equably soliciting the morbid Effects from those which are so, may often conduce to the Preservation of Life. And this (a) slow and gradual Diffusion of the *Virus* through the Mass is likely to render the Habit more pliable to the Distemper, by eluding such a tumultuous and precipitate Alteration of the Blood, as must greatly endanger the Patient; all sudden Changes in the Habit, whether from Air or otherwise, being stigmatized as perilous by HIPPOCRATES long since.

This may possibly suffice to instill a Conception of the Commencement, Progress, and Circle of Infection; but its specific Action on some Parts of the Blood; its Co-operation with others; the Resistance and Dilution it may encounter in peculiar Habits; and every Conflict between the Venom and vital Principles, are necessarily latent, both from the invisible Nature of the Contagion, and our Ignorance of the perfect Texture, Cohesion

(a) Το ὃ κατ' ὀλίγον ἀσφαλές. L. 2. Aph. 51.

sion and Activity of the infected Particles. Were the Angel in *Milton*, that purged *Adam's* visual Ray, permitted for a while to endue us with a supernatural Intuition into the intimate Composition and Motion of Substances, and then presented a living and diaphanous Man for the Object of our Sight and Contemplation; when we saw the vital Machine in perfect Order completely exerting every corporal Function, and subtilizing some Part of our Fluids, 'till they attained the requisite Nature to minister between Mind and Matter, and became indispensable to the Exertion of Intelligence: And subsequently observed the gradual and various Alterations of the Blood, from the visible Operation of these infectious Atoms, and the substantial Reason, why the formerly nutritive Particles became depredatory on the Solids, and the nervous Secretion so depraved, as to eclipse the *divinae particulam aurae*, the human Soul: And at last distinctly saw every oeconomical Effort, by which all such morbid Alterations were effaced, and the animal Functions and rational Faculties restored to their former Sanity and Consistence; as the accumulated Art of our whole Species would be unequal to the Imitation of such exquisite Contrivance, the tremendous august Process must equally illustrate the Glory of the omniscient, omnipotent ARTIST, with the Firmament and Stars themselves. But since our natural Perceptions are inadequate to such a Scrutiny; and the divine Purpose of our brief Duration here renders it unnecessary; let us try if an Attention to the sensible Con-

Consequences of the variolous Principles may not at least afford us some very analogical Idea of their Operation.

Though the Doctrine of a vinous-like Fermentation in the animal Fluids is, upon the whole, perhaps justly exploded, as the frequent arbitrary Supposition of it, and the ascribing a particular fermenting Power to most of the visceral Secretions, appear to suggest little rational Indication and Practice: yet there certainly is a striking Resemblance of it in the *Apparatus* and Process of this particular Disease. The Particles of the Yeast conveyed into and agitated through the fermentable, but hitherto unfermented Liquor, attract, or are attracted by, certain Particles of it; from whence an unusual Degree of intestine Motion is generated in it, after a certain Period, which is somewhat accelerated by Heat, and retarded by Cold, or other Accidents; from which augmented Motion the Liquor becomes hot, turbid and rarefcent; and after the Expulsion of some palpable Parts, and much Air to the Surface, the Motion subsides, the remaining Liquor becomes fine, nor is the Yeast, thence augmentedly separated, capable of renewing the Fermentation in that specific Liquor, tho' it is, in another unfermented Mass of the same Kind. The Analogy between this and Inoculation, particularly, where the palpable Ferment applied is augmentedly returned; and where the Air expelled with the Yeast similarly answers to the connate and perhaps aerial *Fomes* (which is very rarely, if ever, regenerative

nerable in the same Subject) is too obvious to require any Inforcement. Doubtless it was this striking Resemblance, that prompted SYDENHAM, who was no Idolizer of *Hypotheses*, to term the Eruption and Suppuration of the Pustules a Despumation of the Blood. And as excessive Fermentation leaves the impoverished vegetable Fluid unqualified to nourish or exhilarate, so excessive Assimilation too often extinguishes the vital, or subverts the salutary, *Crisis* of the Humours.

Now notwithstanding the Authority of BELLINI, (a) and other eminent Physicians, I am incapable of conceiving, that this Infection of the Blood produces any extraordinary Lentor or Cohesion in it; or that it operates on it, as Acids do on Milk, by coagulating and hardening one Part and attenuating another, which is the same Thing as separating its *Crassamentum* and *Serum*. It seems to me, on the contrary, rather to divide the red Globules, and possibly to impair their perfect Sphericity and Smoothness, whence their Circulation

(a) Ille igitur dolor pulsatorius (scil. capitis in variolis) non ab aucto motu aut quantitate sanguinis proveniet; sed vel a lentore subitam trajectionem prohibente; vel a rarefactione & quasi fervore, quo subita illa trajectio similiter impediatur: vel ab utroque simul, seu, quod idem est, a fermentatione quadam sanguinis, qua fiat, ut solvatur a duriori liquidius, atque ita hoc rarescat, illud subsistat magis.—Est igitur similiter febris variolarum vitium in qualitate sanguinis, qua solvatur, & fit partim lentior, partim liquidior.—*De Febris, Prop. xxx.* But it is observable, that, in accounting for the Symptoms, he is obliged to recur much oftner to the Fusion than the *Lentor*. It is even affecting to observe, how oddly Dr. Willis's Hypothesis of coagulated and congealed Blood in this Disease corresponds with his Histories of the excessive Hemorrhages in it.

culation through the contractile Vessels becomes more irritative. Thus Professor SCHACHT calls the (a) Blood in this Stage thin, florid, fused, and sharp. And this to a certain Degree, in some cold and sluggish Habits, will be so far from assuming a morbid Appearance, in its Infancy, that the Person will seem more than usually alert and lively, of which I have positively seen some indubitable Instances; and have known such a slight Cough as might be attributed to a *Lentor* from Cold and a check'd Perspiration, where the Lungs were justly supposed entire and sound, go off entirely within 48 Hours after Inoculation; to which it should not be denied, that the general Caution and Regularity of Persons after it might contribute: but as the Cough vanished, it was incontestable, that Inoculation furnished nothing towards its Increase or Continuance, which an augmented Viscidity of the Blood very probably must. I knew a Gentleman too between 40 and 50 Years of Age, having been a Valetudinarian for the two or three last, (and had probably had some glandular Obstructions of the *Viscera*) who declared in Company one Night, that he felt himself much better than for a considerable Time before, and, as he expressed it, entirely well: the next Day he was seized with an exquisite *Lumbago*, which terminated in a violent Degree of the Small Pox, that proved mortal the eighth from Seizure. Dr. MORTON himself
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(a) Sanguis tenuis, floridus, dissolutus, acer.

Instit. medic. pract. P. 39.

acknowledges, that this Poison is a hot, acrid and colliquative one; tho' his Practice, by the Way, was a pretty odd Method of opposing such a Poison's Effects. LISTER observes, that in the highest Species of the Small Pox the Fusion of the Blood was such, that after it was cold the slightest Touch of a Feather would move and divide it like Water. BOERHAAVE affirms that in the first Stage the Blood is remarkably bright and florid. In short, the liberal, and sometimes profuse Hæmorrhages; the irregular Eruptions of the *Catamenia*, that often occur in the *Apparatus* of the Disease; the intensely red and purple Eruptions, and the dreadful *Phænomena* of the bleeding Pox, all convince us of its fusing Quality, as the latter evince the Fatality of its extreme Fusion. The early Hæmorrhages indeed we find often salutary, (a) as the variolated Blood, and possibly the very Seeds of the Disease, may be expelled with it, which furnishes no bad Hint of the Advantage of bleeding in certain Constitutions and Circumstances, in the *Apparatus* of the Disease; though we cannot imagine Art shall withdraw the infected or infecting Particles as electively, as Nature may discern and expell them: yet profuse Hæmorrhages in the Progress of this Malady are very rarely critical, but fatal, Symptoms.

BELLINI has not specified which Part of the Blood, the *Cruor* or *Serum*, he supposes dissolved, or

(a) Exanthematologia. P. 305, 306. Saepe narium haemorrhagia hos aegros curavit. Boerb. Prax. Vol. V. P. 312.

or inviscidated, or partly both; nor which of the common Principles of either he thinks chiefly impressed or assimilable by this Infection. With Regard to the *Cruor*, is it not an evident Contradiction to common Sense, and an Insult on physical Reasoning, to imagine, that an increased *Lentor* and Cohesion of the red Globules can fit them to pass those strait cuticular Ducts, which their salutary Size and Cohesion does not qualify them to do? And will the Experiment of the human *Serum*'s inspissating over Flame sufficiently infer, that it may be subject to the same Condition, while it circulates, from this Infection, and that in the very *Apparatus* of the Disease? Does not the White of an Egg, which also inspissates over actual Heat, and which, like the human *Serum*, is proved to be nutritive, become sensibly thinner from a stronger Agitation than the humours undergo in their Circle? But it must be absurd to suppose a further Fusion of the serous or lymphatic Globules necessary to their Transmission to the Surface; since in a healthy State their superfluous or recrementitious Particles continually exsude or evaporate through its Passages. And how would an Eruption of them only, if morbidly inviscidated, agree with the Colour of the Eruptions in the different Degrees of the Small Pox? It follows then, that the red Globules must be attenuated by the Effects of this Poison for their Transmission to the Surface, where they are accompanied with a greater or less Proportion of the *Serum*, in whatever Measure infect-

infected, which renders the Canals more supple and yielding: tho' upon the Degree of this Attenuation I apprehend the Event of the Disease capitally depends. When the Eruptions appear of the Colour of a Damask Rose, which SYDENHAM justly observes to be their most benign Complexion, may we not reasonably conceive the Proportion of the infected red Globules to be but small; their natural Size, Figure and Consistence to be but little impaired, from their diluted Resemblance to arterial Blood; and their Distances from each other in their vehicular *Serum* to be considerable? since we certainly know the Quantity of tinging Corpuscles to be lessened in their Proportion, and to have their Distances augmented, from the lighter Colour that results to any Tincture, on the Addition of a colourless untinging Fluid. And may we not as reasonably apprehend a great Infection and Attenuation of the red Globules, from the precipitate and copious Appearance of deep red, purple, or livid Eruptions; when we perceive that the brightest tinging Materials, suppose Cochineal or Alkanet, impart a Deepness that amounts to Opacity, and some Degree of Darkness, as often as their *Menstruums* are highly saturated with their over-crowded Particles? And does not the Transparence and different Shade of Colour, that ensue from a liberal Addition of the untinged *Menstruum*, hint something of the *Rationale* of simple and mild Dilution in this Disease? which nevertheless should not be excessive; since such an Ingurgitation of the most apposite Fluids

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may confuse the Motion of, and consequently the Secretion from, the Blood. Nature is seldom a bad Director on such Occasions; for where much is necessary, much will be coveted.

And here recollecting my Engagement, in the Close of the first Section, to offer, in treating of the Operation of this Contagion, the best Idea of it which my Reflection and Imagination afforded me; and finding that Professor SCHACHT at *Utrecht* makes a (a) Query whether it may not be of an alkaline Nature, and affirms there are Arguments which make it likely, but without adducing any of them, I have repeated on this Occasion a few juvenile Experiments, that do not disfavour this Supposition: tho' I cannot conceive a Necessity, with most Chemists, and many former Physicians, of ranking all Substances either under the Denomination of Acid or Alkali.

Red Tinctures then, suppose of the before mentioned Materials, which are rendered of an Orange or lighter Hue, by Spirits of Sulphur, Vitriol, or Nitre, become of an intense red, purple, and even blewish, by the addition of volatile or lixivious Salts, or the Instillations of alkaline Spirits, according to their different Proportions: when the predominating Affusion of an Acid restores them towards their first Colour, or lighter, which may be altered again, *vice versa*,

(a) An non probabile aliquid de alcalina indole habere? Dantur certe argumenta quae hanc opinionem verisimilem reddunt.

versa, by different Instillations for a few Times, but with less Transparency and Lustre, as a present Confusion and ensuing Precipitation are the Consequence. Now notwithstanding we do not infer a considerable Similarity between the spirituous and watry *Menstruums* here and the human *Serum*; nor between the tinging Particles of Alkanet and Cochineal (tho' the latter is a concreted animal *Cruor*) and the red Globules of the human Blood; yet if any one shall from hence suggest the variolous *Virus* to be an invisible volatile * alkaline Salt, which proves a considerably caustic one in the most alcalescent Habits, it may not be very easy perhaps to dissipate the Suggestion. The Experiments indeed would be still more illustrative, if such Admixtures excited the same Appearances in a Tincture of human Blood, extracted with a Serum-like *Menstruum*, and kept up, during the Experiment, to the ordinary Height of human Heat. And should this answer, tho' we are less solicitous about the Class

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than

* Will this infer the Probability of a particular *Alcalinum vagum* in that Constitution of the Air, that has been thought epidemically impressivè of the Small Pox, without animal Contagion? And may the supposed *Acidum vagum* in the Air attemper and restrain the alcalescent Disposition of our Blood, upon that judicious Extension of the *ὑπερπληθυσμός* of Hippocrates by Heurnius, L. 2. Aph. 22. which remarks, that Constitutions in the Excess of any Temperament thrive best on the moderate Use of Substances of the opposite one? And as Fire has great Influence in the Generation of Alkalis, rendering vegetable Acids, for Instance, Tartar, such; may not this Alcalescence of the human Blood be generally higher in the torrid Climates, where the Proportion or Energy of the *Acidum vagum* may be less too; and may not these be the providential Reason of their abounding with the most acid and refrigerant Fruits?

than the Nature of this infectious Cause, we would pursue Lord BACON's Advice on another Occasion, where he says, 'If any Person shall discover a Metal or Composition of the same Weight, Colour, Ductility, and all the other Properties of Gold, he may leave others to dispute about the Appellation of it.' The Change of Colour from scarlet to deep red, or purple, on the Addition of a strong Alkali, seems to me to result from an Alteration in the Form of the tinging Particles, which may also imply a Diversity of their Size; and will not this strongly correspond both with the greater Number of such intensely coloured Eruptions, and their extraordinary Stimulation and Pungency, in Comparison with those of the diluter rosy Efflorescence? which may be presumed, with the Colour, to preserve the Form too of arterial Globules, tho' probably somewhat comminuted, if the Ducts have not been a little dilated for their Extrusion. There seems at least enough in these Suppositions to make every reflecting Physician diffident of the Propriety of those lixivial saline Draughts, which have been too often exhibited in the *Apparatus* of the Small Pox, to appease the symptomatical Reachings, that usually terminate, when Eruption fairly appears. At the same Time it may be prudent to aver, that we do not intend from the supposed Alcalescence of this *Virus* to recommend the Cure of it by an injudicious Use of Acids; since some Degree of its own Operation is necessary to extricate it from the Blood, and to conduct

duct it out of the human System. And tho' the judicious prophylactic Method of RHazes was a very cool and acid Regimen; and HOMBERG assures us the Fluids of young Animals are more acid than those of Adults of the same Species; whence one Reason of this Distemper proving generally milder in Children may be some Approach of its external Cause to a more neutral State in their Fluids: yet it may be the Height of Imprudence, 'till its specific Antidote be discovered, to attempt an Extinction of that ordinary Process, by which it so pervades our Constitution, as never to revisit it: notwithstanding we have little to oppose to its most virulent Operation but powerful Acids, Styptics, and the strongest potential Cold we can generate and apply.

Thus far of its Action chiefly on the red Globules; but in the very confluent Small Pox, which are considerably less perilous than the bloody Sort, we find an extraordinary Derivation of Lymph to the salivary Glands; which must either happen from a variolous Resolution of the red Globules into serous or lymphatic, as it occurs in mercurial Salivations (from whence nearly an entire Renovation of the Mass) or from a vitious or variolous Lymph: tho' the meer Irritation of the *Fauces* might certainly occasion a great Derivation of it thro' the salival Glands, whatever its Quality be. I am sensible that a very few experienced Physicians have imagined a great Quantity of this Discharge rather pernicious than serviceable to the Patient; tho' SYDENHAM and

others consider it as essentially salutary to Adults in the confluent Kind. Possibly the former suppose it exhausts the Patient extremely, and leaves the Mass too viscous and undiluted. For my own Part, 'till still further Experience may instruct me otherwise, tho' I generally suspect those Degrees of the Disease, that bring on this Discharge profusely, and always desire to see such as are commonly attended with little of it, I confess I apprehend, that Adults seldom emerge thro' a great Confluence, without a considerable Evacuation this Way; especially where the Pustules have not suppurated more benignly and brightly than such generally do. Perhaps it might be as reasonable to suspect the moist Swellings of the Hands and Feet, which, in the happy Termination of such Cases, almost ever succeed to the Abatement of the Salivation, and Tumour of the Face. If the *Saliva* is morbid or variolated, the Expulsion is necessary; and it may be worth an Experiment, whether a less or greater Quantity of it would communicate the Disease by Incisions; which perhaps it may as effectually do, as the *Saliva* of a mad Dog injects his *Rabies*. May we infer then, that Bodies very pregnant with the variolous *Fomes* have their *Serum* proportionably furnished with it; while in others it may possibly serve to dilute the former, and attemper the Effects of Contagion? But however this may be, the great Fusion of the Humours, in the severer Degrees of this Malady, is fully manifest from this Evacuation.

TIMONI indeed affirms, that among the other good Effects of Inoculation, it is attended with *no* Fusion of the Blood; which I conceive is not to be admitted without frequent Limitation: but had he affirmed, it was very generally attended with *much less* Fusion, it would have been strictly right. And indeed I have often seen such a small Number of Pustules by Inoculation, from half a Dozen perhaps to half an hundred, and those fill, or sometimes half fill, with a thin dilute Humour, the Patient continuing all the Time entirely light and easy, that it was obvious there had been very little Fusion of the red Globules. But surely the remarkable erratic Flushings, before actual sickening by Inoculation, will dispose us to infer some * Attenuation of the red Blood. And as a very liberal Eruption now and then happens to a few of the inoculated, with a proportionable Inflammation and Maturation, it is offending against Experience to affirm *no Fusion* of the Blood from Inoculation, and is really doing no Service to the Practice, which is diserving the Subjects of it; as the most effectual Way of promoting it is to relate all, and no more than all, the Truth

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* I remember that about ten Years since a young Nobleman at Westminster School, who was inoculated, died of a Loss of Blood in the Apparatus of the Disease; but whether it was from a spontaneous Hæmorrhage, or happened in Consequence of bleeding him in it, and not being able to stop the violent Effusion in Time, I cannot perfectly recollect, tho' I think it was owing to the latter. I visited a sanguine Youth of 14 or 15 inoculated last Spring, who, notwithstanding a preparatory Bleeding, fell into copious and repeated Hæmorrhages previous to and during Eruption, but in other Respects past very easily thro' a pretty moderate Eruption.

concerning it. It must be admitted however, that the Practice was in its meer Infancy, with Regard to *Europe*, in TIMONI's Days; and perhaps it needed the utmost Eulogies he could give it, to avail us of its many happy Consequences, which we have since experienced.

We have insisted the longer on this attenuating, which in a higher Degree may be called the *fusing* Power of the variolous *Primordia*; as we conceive it has an immediate Tendency to establish a more reasonable Practice, than what has too often prevailed in the *Apparatus* of the Disease: since a considerable Error either of Commission or Omission then is too frequently incompenfable by any Thing we can do, or omit, in the Progress of it. And too many seem to have mistaken the comparative Magnitude of the variolated Globules, in Respect of the Emunctories thro' which they are to pass, for a general Viscidity of the Mass: and hence plying the Patient with very stimulating Attenuants within and without, they have precipitately exalted the Poison, whose Operation was to be mitigated with Judgment.

But tho' I have abundantly convinced myself, at least, of the fusing Influence of this Contagion on the Blood, I conceive, that a very opposite Dyscrasy of it may ensue, from its total Absorption by the olfactory Nerves, its Admission to, and Confinement in, the Brain. DIEMERBROECK and others have considered pestilential Contagion by Smell as the most pernicious Mode of it; and perhaps the Force of that exquisite Poison is sufficiently

ficiently deleterious, to extinguish the vital Spirits, or arrest their Secretion and Action instantaneously; as some are affirmed to have dropt down dead, without the least previous Complaint or Token of Infection. But as the variolous Contagion is certainly less virulent, we may contemplate at least what will probably prove the Consequence of its total Absorption by the Smell, and Confinement to the nervous System. Now though we can form no precise Idea of the Manner of its Diffusion thro' the Nerves, or the unravellable Substance of the Brain; yet as their Texture and Sensation are very exquisite, its Residence must be incommodious, and will very probably lessen, or some way pervert, the nervous Functions. But the Quantity infused was not yet augmented by the humoral *Fomes*: its Virosity is not likely to be exalted from the comparative Coolness of the Part, and Slowness of what imperceptible Circulation may be in the cortical and medullary Substance. It is equally probable, that whatever the nervous Secretion may consist of, it is too highly attenuated to be a commodious Soil for the Invelopement and Increase of these contagious Seeds. If their Presence impairs the Functions of those Nerves, that are subservient to the vital Motions, the Contraction of the Heart will be feebler, the Circulation more languid; the nervous Secretion at its Origin proportionably lessened, and the Blood be thence disposed to a more stagnant and viscid State. If the inhaled *Virus* prejudice those Nerves, in their Sub-

Substance or Contents, which mediate between the Mind and the external Organs of Sense, and those whose Functions are necessary even to intellectual Perception, Sensation will become so obtuse, the vital Oeconomy so confused, and the Faculties so oppressed, that both animal and rational Life will be surprisngly obscured, and the Circulation just sufficient to prevent their Extinction, 'till these Invaders are expelled by some extraordinary Effort of Nature, Art, or both, from such improper Quarters. And besides that this Eclipse of the Mind calls for a more stimulating *Crisis* of the Blood to excite the organical Functions, the Contagion that would conduce to it, if in the Blood Vessels, is differently employed. This must be more than meer Imagination, as I have repeatedly seen Persons in this very State before Eruption, comatose, torpid, cold and relaxed: and I particularly remember a young Subject thus affected, who, being roused by a Vomit, a Blister, and some fetid Cordials, received a moderate Fever, that was soon attended with a mild Eruption; on which all the nervous Symptoms vanished, and the Disease terminated happily.

A worthy Physician of St. *Bartholomew's* Hospital has candidly obliged me with three Histories of this Mode of variolous Infection, two by the natural Disease, and one by the Infusion. For tho' we have supposed the latter the most immediate and simple Application of this *Virus* to the Blood; yet wherever the earliest Symptoms are considerably more nervous than inflammatory, we

we chuse to denominate the Infection such. Besides as some nervous Fibrills are divided as well as capillary Blood-vessels by the Incisions, we cannot be certain whether the former may imbibe any of the purulent Particles, or their volatile Poison, or not; tho' we can be pretty clear from the Symptoms themselves, where the Determination of the contagious Particles has been, whatever their primary Receptacle was.

The first Case, in the natural Way, was that of a Girl between six and seven Years old, who, after a Complaint of her Head and Back, was seized with a very violent and long Convulsion: When it was over her Speech greatly faltered, but returned, 'till being seized with three successive Fits next Day, she lost the Use of her Speech and Limbs entirely. The Eruption notwithstanding appeared, was very distinct, and terminated easily, tho' she lay speechless and motionless all the Time. Full three Months after she began to recover her Speech, but her Limbs more slowly, for in July subsequent to the January when she was seized, she had a great Weakness in her Legs with frequent Tremblings. Here the Symptoms were apparently nervous, tho' the Chanel of Infection is uncertain. She is now almost entirely recovered.

The second Patient, who was naturally infected at five Years of Age, was judged to have a favourable Eruption, which soon turned: but the following Day, after a violent Sickness at Stomach, she lost her Speech in a very few Hours; and, within a few Days, both her Senses and her
Strength

Strength were reduced to that of an Infant in the Month. This Privation continued, tho' with some Increase of Appetite, and Health in other Respects, for six Weeks; at the End of which she began to give some obscure Signs of Understanding, and to take that little Notice of Things which Infants do, but made no attempt to speak 'till after 14 Months; and could not speak every thing till the end of 4 more, as she seemed to learn more slowly in this than in her first Infancy. She could not however even then stand alone; but after using the cold Bath six Months, entirely recovered her Limbs, and continues now very healthy, about the Age of 30. In this Case the Blood seems to have been primarily and moderately infected, and the Nerves to have suffered but in Consequence of a Translation of those morbid *Effluvia*, which should have salutarily transpired from the Surface. But had the Infection, and consequently the Translation, been more copious, might not a total Extinction of the nervous Influence, which is Death, have ensued instead of this partial one? and which is probably the Case of many who expire convulsed about the same Period under a severer Eruption. There is also, or lately was, an Adult at St. *Bartholomew's* whom I have seen; he had a moderate Eruption in *April* 1752, which filled and turned benignly enough; though he lost the Use of his Speech and Limbs for many Months, and has not wholly recovered them this *August* 1753: and on this Article of nervous Infection I may refer
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to the Case of the Boy, tho' not variolous, § 1. P. 12. who recovered from the Stench of the putrid Body, but lost the Use of his Limbs, and was forced to take to a sedentary Trade.

The Case by Inoculation was that of a Child between three and four Years old, who had been brought low by a Fever a little before. His Convulsions were violent, his Pustules very few, and when they finished their ordinary Course, he had entirely lost the use of his Speech and Limbs, and could not keep his Head erect; which, on his being set up, tumbled laterally or forwards. It was three Months before he fully recovered his Speech, and at the End of five his Limbs had not attained their former Strength, nor does he yet walk alone.

May we reasonably infer here, that the preceding Fever, which had brought the Child low, made him more obnoxious to these nervous Symptoms, both by weakening his Nerves, and lessening the humoral *Fomes* of the Disease for a Time? as we have already remarked, that the *salino-sulphureous* Parts of the Blood were discharged in an extraordinary Proportion by Urine, in the salutary *Crises* of acute Fevers. Neither is it difficult to conceive, that where the Contagion finds but little Employment, and creates little Tumult, in the Blood, it may not the less easily pervade the most subtil and untraceable Recesses of the Circulation, the Brain and Nerves: tho' possibly its Residence in the Blood for some Time before its Arrival there may render it more stimulant

mulant and virose, than its Conveyance there at first thro' the olfactory Nerves; since we do not experience the like Irritations to ensue for some Days after a manifest Infection by Scent. And as some weak and tender Subjects fail in this sort of *Apparatus* before Eruption, tho' very rarely, may we not ascribe it to the invincible Lodgment of the volatile Poison in the Nerves subservient to vital Motion, which, preventing their Functions, must occasion sudden Death? as their Determination to the Nerves of Speech and Sensation will abolish those Functions; and that to the Nerves, instrumental to the Exertion of the different Faculties, must produce a Loss or Obscurity of them; all or some of which Effects were probably prevented by the Expulsion of the virose Stench of the putrid Carcase from such Nerves to the great Ischiadic one, which terminated in the Boy's incurable Lameness. May it not clearly follow from such Fact, that the epileptic Insults of Children previous to Eruption, which SYDENHAM and Experience inform us are generally succeeded by a distinct one, are an extraordinary Effort of Nature, by which she explodes, as it were, the heterogeneous Cause into the grosser Circulation for its Expulsion by the Surface? Have these convulsive Agitations any co-operating Tendency to excite the subsequent Fever necessary to this Expulsion? And does this Fever make the Blood more strongly attractive of this *Virus* which convulsed the Nerves, and thus serve as some *Succedaneum* to the

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the Paucity of a humoral *Fomes*, by exalting what there is of it? And as all such horrible Distortions of our Frame are accompanied with great seeming Agony, has the divine Compassion obscured our Perception at the same Time; to the End, that while a very painful Cause and unnatural Kind of animal Motion violently acts and subsists, it should prove tantamount to none, from our concomitant Insensibility? By the Way are not the *Tremors* that frequently infest Children before, and in the Infancy of Eruption, and which seem a Kind of vibratory Motion of the Nerves, a considerable Argument that such a State of them is morbid, and that their natural Action is not by Vibration, as some have imagined?

Now as all the aforesaid Subjects of this Mode of Infection had a very mild Eruption, which Children convulsed in the *Apparatus* frequently have, is it not highly probable, that many who have a natural Penury of the variolous *Fomes* may (but more particularly where their Nerves are originally weak, or rendered so by any previous Depression) be more liable to the like Symptoms; while such hot active Blood as abounds with it will be proportionably attractive of its inflaming Spark? This may be illustrated a little by our seeing a Candle whose Flame is out, but the Wick not extinguished, quickly catch Flame, and even at some Distance, from a lighted one. In Fact what Course do we so successfully take in these variolously nervous Cases, as that
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of conveying such active Particles into the Habit as we suppose similar to the *Pabulum*; while we excite such internal and external Stimulation, as the Contagion, when diffused thro' the Blood, generally does? Thus we see that a few Patients may be so peculiarly circumstanced in this Disease, that even the Scarcity or *Languor* of its inherent Cause, tho' very often to be wished for, may tend to the Production of some anomalous Symptoms: as half an Opiate has been known to keep a Patient awake, and to introduce an uneasy Confusion, from not procuring the Sleep expected from it. Such a State then must rationally suggest a very different Indication from that of the ordinary and regular Appearances of this Disease; and Bleeding especially must be as preposterous here, as its Omission would, in a high sanguineous Infection and strong Habit. Opiates too must act like Poisons; and this different Indication will coincide with the general Observation of HIPPOCRATES, (a) That a Fever succeeding Convulsions is oftner salutary, than Convulsions supervening on a Fever: while it evinces the Prudence of his thinking Imitator SYDENHAM, who directed a Blister and Cordials in such Circumstances, for which he has been taxed by some, as inconsistent with his own *Regimen*.

Having so lately mentioned the great Impropriety of Opiates in such nervous Infections, I cannot omit an Instance of a deplorable Weakness

(a) Πυρετον ἐπὶ παρασμῶ βελτιον γερεισθαι, ἢ παασμον ἐπὶ πυρετῶ. L. 6. Aph. 26.

ness of the Nerves, supervening after the repeated Exhibition of Diacodium, in a Case from Inoculation: for the Communication of which, and much more on this Subject, I am obliged to my sincere and worthy Friend Serjeant RANBY.

The Daughter of a Nobleman being inoculated, at seven Years of Age, sickened very favourably the seventh Day, and had not more than 40 Pustules in her Face. But after complete Eruption the Pustules, which were very large, growing sore, rendered her very uneasy: on which Account the Physician who attended ordered a Draught to be taken at Night with a proper Quantity of Diacodium; which was nightly repeated 'till the turn of the Distemper; at which Time, tho' the Child seemed to retain her Senses perfectly, she totally lost her Speech and the Use of her Arms and Legs, which persisted, with very little Amendment for three Years; her weak and feeble State continuing still longer, tho' she at last recovered and is now very healthy. This tedious Misfortune nevertheless did not prevent her noble Father, who was a very intelligent Man, from inoculating his only Son afterwards, but enjoining a Restriction from all Opiates. His Commands were obeyed, and his Son went thro' the Disease very easily and happily.—It is certain indeed that a few peculiar Habits are disposed to receive only the literally enervating Operation of this wonderful Drug. And every prudent Physician, the first Time he directs an Opiate for a Patient, must think it right

to enquire, if he has ever taken any, and how they affect him. It happens fortunately enough tho' for the Subjects of a Disease, in which Opiates are certainly often serviceable, that such Idiosyncrasies are rare. Camphire has been said to succeed as an Anodyne where Opium disagrees, which I had never any Occasion to Experience: and *Asa foetida* has been supposed by some to obviate its depressing Consequences. We are certain there can be no Imprudence in avoiding to direct it as of Course, and for Form; but to let it be fairly indicated first, particularly in weak, suspected Habits.

Upon the whole of nervous Infection, it seems clearly inferable, that a Translation of the variolous Contagion from the Nerves into the Blood is more rarely fatal, than the Translation of the augmented and heated Contagion upon the Nerves: for tho' we have admitted a few tender Subjects to succumb under nervous Infection, for want of its Translation into its proper Receptacle, the Blood; without which, as its Vehicle too, Eruption, the first *Crisis* of this Disease, cannot ensue; yet a much greater Proportion die from an immediate Infection of the Blood itself. Of such it must be confessed many perish from the consequent Putridity, Colliquation, or meer Exhaustion of the Fluids; or an Inflammation and Gangrene of the Solids, while the nervous Functions seem not proportionably impaired. But we know experimentally, that still more are affected, towards the fatal *Catastrophe* of the confluent Disease

ease, with such furious *Deliria*, high Orgasms, and strong Convulsions, as demonstrate the Nerves to be violently injured thro' the *Medium* of the infected Blood: And these may well be considered as their acute Symptoms, in Comparison of those before adduced; which not going off with Eruption, nor yet extinguishing the Life of their Subject, terminate in a greater or less Imperfection of some of the animal Functions, for a longer or shorter Term.

It only remains to enquire here into the most usual Period after Infection, when its sensible Operation commences, which it seems difficult to ascertain precisely with Respect to natural Infection. For where the Distemper is very rife and even epidemical, it is seldom the Subject, who is generally supposed to avoid Contagion, can strictly fix the Time of inspiring it, or the accidental Contact of any infected Material: besides which, the Season of the Year; the general Character of the Disease during that Constitution of the Air; the particular Habit of the Subject, and his Way of living after an unconscious Infection, will probably occasion some Diversity in this Period. Some have been said to sicken a Month or even two, after they have exchanged the Scene of Infection for another apparently free from it: and this has been strongly affirmed of a more virulent Contagion; tho' such Cases are undoubtedly rare. Others have sickened as it were immediately from the Sight of a Person newly out of the Disease: but this is ge-

nerally accompanied with great Dread, and the Infection is often fatal. I remember one Instance of a Gentleman's complaining the seventh Day after a Scent, which was certainly variolous, and who, after a very liberal Hæmorrhage from the Nose the following Day, past thro' a kindly Distemper. This by the Way must assure us, that the Blood may be primarily infected even thro' the Smell, as we had no Convulsion, remarkable Head-ach, Delirium, *Torpor*, or nervous Symptom; except the *Lumbago* be one, which was dissipated by the Loss of Blood, the Stream of it being very free, and the Complexion bright and florid. As this acute Disease however has its different *Crises* and *Stadia*, perhaps the most regularly of any, let us suppose that the Seeds of it, even fortuitously received, have, in general, a certain Period of remaining in the Blood, before they effect its sensibly morbid Alteration. Now as the Inoculated rarely complain, or but very slightly, before the seventh Day after, and often not untill the eighth; and the most benign Pock is generally arrived at Maturation the seventh from its Appearance, we may grant them to lie about a Week in the Habit, before they are sufficiently increased to manifest the Symptoms. But here it is plain the Inoculated, who can ascertain the very Minute of Infection, have a material Advantage of those unconscious of it: since, besides their Preparation for the Disease, they have, as it were, super-added a new *Stadium* of a full Week previous to the *Apparatus* of it; in
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which, while they endeavour to lessen and mollify its natural *Fomes*, they are certain to commit no Irregularity that may exasperate the Infection; which the others, especially if Male-Adults, are so liable to do. But having admitted this seeming Inactivity of Infection for a Week, it should be subjoined, for Reasons already specified, that there are many Exceptions to it in the natural Way, which, tho' more rarely, may take Place in the inoculated too. Thus PYLARINI informs us, the Symptoms do not appear in all the inoculated at the same Period; the Ferment acting sooner or later, according to the various Temperament, Age and Strength of the several Patients; and he says, there have been Instances, tho' rarely, where Eruption has appeared the first. TIMONI also says, the Small Pox begin to appear sooner in some than in others. Dr. LE DUC, who was inoculated at *Constantinople*, sickened the fourth Day, had a considerable Eruption of the distinct Kind, and yet ascribes the Disease to Art. So that upon the whole our early Inoculators seem to have hurried on too precipitately to this Conclusion, that as many of their Patients as sickened before the seventh Day, which some of the few who miscarried did, had previously received the natural Infection, to which they were very zealous of ascribing the Miscarriage. And tho' it is certain that most of them had been too much exposed to the Hazard of it, and some, with the greatest Probability, had taken it; nevertheless since this variolous Assimilation is a morbid Heterogeneity,

neity of the Blood, wherever the Matter for it is very copious, it is reasonable to infer, that the Progress of it may be proportionably speedy, and sometimes even precipitate Nature to attempt that Separation of the assimilated Humours, which is necessary to purify the Mass for vital Purposes. We are not to wonder however, that all the Observations from TIMONI and PYLARINI were not at first so strictly attended to, where the general Event of the Practice was very prosperous. Mr. MAITLAND, our earliest Inoculator, was a very moderate physical Reasoner himself; some Pamphlets that appeared afterwards under his Name, in a medical Justification of the Practice against Dr. WAGSTAFFE &c. being ascribed to the ingenious Dr. ARBUTHNOT. Undoubtedly, among its many early Promoters, some acted from Candour and Philanthropy, and others too probably from a sordid Attachment to themselves alone; which must dispose them to qualify and elude, to their utmost, any Event, that might contract a valuable Article of Trade. But no longer to indulge any unavailing Reflections, a great Majority of Instances obliges us to admit the seventh or eighth Day, as the most general Term of the artificial Invasion, and the ninth or tenth of Eruption, in this Climate: where it occurs earlier, we may reasonably apprehend a greater Disease; where it is retarded a Day or two, we should be apt to expect a milder, from a slow and gentle Assimilation. I knew a young Lady, whose Eruption did not appear till the fourteenth
from

from Inoculation ; it was very little, and the Dis-temper next to none. On the other Hand I am authentically informed of three recent Instances, in two of which Eruption did not happen before the seventeenth Day, and was very considerable, tho' both did well. A Boy of seven Years old at *Egham* sickened the twenty-third from Inoculation, had a severe Eruption and Disease, but escaped. His Brother, inoculated with him and from the same Matter, sickened at the ordinary Term, and past the Disease very easily. The two former were not Brothers, nor nearly related I think. In Miss DEGRAVE's extraordinary Case Eruption, which proved moderate, did not happen till eleven Weeks after Inoculation, upon heating herself at the Play-house, which produced an undetermined Altercation, whether she sickened from Accident or Art: but as she complained during that whole Interval of indifferent Rest and Appetite, and was subject to erratic Flushings ; and as DIEMERBROECK gives us (1) an Instance, from his own Knowledge, of the Contagion of the Plague lurking in the Body (tho' with a few such Symptoms, but without a Fever) for three Months before it plainly manifested itself, we may very well conclude the *Languor* or Dormancy of the variolous *Aura*, in a Habit but little disposed to the Disease, for eleven Weeks. There are undoubtedly some particular bodily Dispositions with Regard to different Infections ; and such a Variety of

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(1) De Peste. L. 4. Hist. 103.

external Accidents may concur to retard, accelerate, or otherwise diversify their Operation; that tho' we can generally predict the Term of their Energy from the time of their Reception, it is not strange, that such an extraordinary Instance should sometimes occur, as an Exception to the general Rule, and elude the strictest Investigation of our halting and imperfect Knowledge.





SECTION IV.

*Of the Rise and Date of Inoculation,
and its Introduction into Europe.*

THE preceding Enquiries into this Contagion and its Nourishment, and into some of the early and general Effects of their Coalition, may conduce perhaps towards forming a radical Notion of the Disease; without which there can be little Prospect of its proper Treatment. And our daily Experience and weekly Accounts sufficiently attest the very considerable Fatality of this Coalition in the natural Way: so considerable indeed, that the Small Pox have been generally esteemed more pernicious to the *English*, than to most other Nations of *Europe*. This was no bad Reason then for our being the first *Europeans*, who have largely availed themselves of the indisputable Advantages of combining the external and inherent Cause by Art; to which also the just and entire Possession of our religious and civil Rights, of our human and Christian Liberty, and the Genius of a People, who are strongly addicted to think for themselves, have greatly contributed.

But

But the first Discoverer of this Method, as well as the precise Time and Place of its Discovery, are not only unknown to the *Europeans*, but, as far as we can learn, to the *Asiatics* themselves, from whom we received it. Hence it is not improbable it might be made by * Accident, without the least medical Design or Deduction, and by some poor unlearned, but Heaven-taught, Mortal, who, from the rude and illiterate State of his Country, has never been recorded. Were this Conjecture as true as probable, the Fact might very properly repress the Pride of human Erudition, and the Futility of many laboured Researches; while it must naturally remind us of that Passage in the *New Testament*, where our Saviour glorifies his Father, for concealing some things from the Wise and Learned of the Earth, and revealing them to Sucklings. For had it occurred

* M. GEOFFROY observes, that most Specifics too have been thus discovered, and gives us the following Account of the Discovery of the Bark, in his History of medicinal Substances, translated by Dr. Douglas, 'Some Trees which bear it being blown into a Canal, or Pool of Water, lay there 'till the Water acquired so bitter a Taste, that no Person could drink it: one of the neighbouring Inhabitants, however, being seized with a violent hot Fit of an Ague, and finding nothing else to quench his Thirst, ventured upon a large Draught of this bitter Water, which cured him of his Fever and Thirst at the same Time. This being made known by him for the Benefit of his Neighbours, the same Water was used by many, with equal Success: but the Trees coming at length to rot, the Water lost its bitter Taste and Virtue likewise; but upon a diligent Search after the Cause of this Bitterness, they at length traced it up to the Bark of these Trees, which has ever since been made use of, as the most certain Remedy for intermitting Fevers of all Kinds.'—We do not find though, that the present Practice warrants the Exhibition of it in any Part of the Paroxysm, hot or cold.

curred to any Person of Rank or Education, or to one of medical Abilities, the Love of Fame or Profit must certainly have informed us of the Name of a Discoverer, who merits more from his Species, than many, who have had Statues, and even Altars, erected to them.

I am aware that Dr. MEAD may be understood to suppose this Discovery the Result of (1) Study and Consideration in one Passage, where he says, ‘ As Experience had demonstrated, that no Person was ever twice afflicted with the Small Pox ; and that scarce one of a thousand escaped it entirely, it was thought expedient to consider how the Disease might be communicated :’ tho’ he qualifies this Notion soon after, by adding ‘ it was Matter of Wonder to him, how a People so ignorant of Physic, as the *Circassians*, could make the Discovery.’ Mr. MAITLAND, on the other Hand, expresses his Admiration of the great Sagacity and diligent Observation of the *Men*, as he phrases it, who first invented it. Dr. HARRIS, not with less Probability, supposes it discovered in some of the more ignorant Nations of *Asia*, and propagated to us by the Will of Providence. And surely there can be no Absurdity, nothing impious or presumptuous, in supposing the divine Compassion peculiarly exerted, in suggesting to afflicted Mortals, by whatever Means or Instrument, a Method for blunting the Arrows, and extinguishing, or very greatly restraining, the Fatality of this loathsome Destroyer: when we reflect,

fect, that the utmost Efforts of human Study and Skill very often fail in the Cure of its severer Degrees; and too probably sometimes perplex the slowly salutary Oeconomy of Nature under it. In brief this appeared the *dignus vindice nodus, cui Deus interfit*: and these Reflections may deserve the Attention of those mistaken Theologists, who terming the Small Pox the *Flagellum Dei*, make the very Success of Inoculation (instead of observing the divine Admonition of *judging of the Tree by its Fruit*) an Objection to the Use of it; as it is endeavouring, they say, to elude the divine Scourge. But this absurd Objection might as justly infer, that we ought not to use any human Means in any Disease, which may be equally by the divine Will, and certainly is by the divine Permission.

But whoever was its first Discoverer, it may be inferred from our late Acquaintance with it, that it was not found out 'till some Centuries after the Appearance of the Disease. Our earliest Informations of it were from two Italian Physicians. TIMONI addressed his Account to the Royal Society from *Constantinople* 1713, in which he says, the *Circassians* and *Georgians* had introduced it into that Capital upwards of forty Years before. He observes, the more prudent were cautious of using it at first, but that its subsequent Success soon extinguished all Suspicion, Persons of every Age and Temperament, and both Sexes, having submitted to it without one dying; and this in the worst Constitution of the Air, when the

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Doctor attests from his own Observation (having resided there eight Years) half of the naturally infected died. In short his Eulogies of it are very high, and his Precautions too few. The former indeed might be even necessary to encourage the Subjects of the Disease to submit to so novel and paradoxical a Protection from its severer Degrees, as the immediate Reception of its Seeds into the Circulation: But the latter may have occasioned too general, too crude and precipitate an Application of it in our first Inoculators, as if a Mis-carriage had been an Impossibility, which Experience soon contradicted.

PYLARINI's Letter, tho' subsequently placed in *Baddam's* Abridgment of the Philosophical Transactions, goes as far back as the Year 1701, when he was at *Constantinople*; and where, after examining into several Facts with Regard to the Practice, he consented to the Inoculation of four Sons of a *Greek* Nobleman of his Acquaintance. He says the Inventor is unknown; but that it first prevailed in *Greece*, particularly in *Thessaly*. This Account is wrote with more Circumspection than the former, as he affirms the Symptoms subsequent to Inoculation vary according to the Diversity of Temperaments; and acknowledges the eldest, of 18 Years old, had a very malignant Fever and very bad Symptoms, being scarcely out of Danger the 14th Day. He observes, that at the Time of his Writing, all but the more timorous were fully convinced of its good Effects, but that the *Turks*, as Fatalists, rejected it. I

I find by a Manuscript of the late Sir HANS SLOANE's, which Serjeant RANBY has favoured me with, that PYLARINI addressed his Letter to the Royal Society, of which Sir *Hans* was then President, in Consequence of one, the latter sent to Consul SHERRARD then in *Turkey*, to enquire into the Practice and Success of Inoculation. But notwithstanding the Date of PYLARINI's Answer, there was no further Notice taken here of the Practice, as the Manuscript observes, till it became effectually recommended to the Attention of the Public by the following Occurrence: to which however we may premise, that the Curiosity of that most worthy and benevolent Physician, which has enriched our Island with such a valuable Collection of the Productions of Nature, was a very early Cause of our Information on this salutary Article.

About the Year 1717 the very ingenious Lady MARY WORTLEY MOUNTAGUE, Wife of the *English* Ambassador at *Constantinople*, having carefully enquired into all Circumstances of the Practice, had her Son, at the Age of six, inoculated there: he had about 100 Pustules, and quickly recovered. And in *April* 1722 her Daughter, about the same Age, was the first inoculated in *Great Britain*. She had fewer than her Brother, and played about the Room chearfully under Eruption. Here then we may date the happy Commencement of Inoculation, the memorable *Aera* of a great corporal Salvation from the Mortality of the Small Pox throughout the *British*

tish Dominions. And when that noble Lady's very pretty poetical Compositions may be overlooked, from the Fluctuation of Language, and thro' the Waste of Time, that excellent Sense, which prompted her to more than female Resolution, in Tendernefs for her Offspring, and proved in its Consequences an Introduction to this most salutary Practice, shall do unfailing Honour to her Memory; and *England*, that is said to have been termed abroad the Paradise of Women, shall exult on this Occasion, with the justest Gratitude to one, *Dux femina Facti*.

But it remained for Royalty itself, for his late Majesty of ever worthy Memory, and his present most excellent Majesty and his late Royal and most discerning Consort, then Prince and Princess of *Wales*, to compleat and establish by their propitious *Auspices*, and generous Example, a Practice so happily introduced. For after the Experiment had been made, under the Sanction of the Royal Authority, on six condemned Malefactors successfully; five of the Parish Children of St. *James's* were happily inoculated; and a few Families of Distinction having the Operation performed on their Children with the desired Effect, their Majesties had all their Royal Issue then living * inoculated, with

* The MS already mentioned says, it was done in Consequence of the present Princess Royal of *Orange* being then very dangerously ill of the natural Small Pox, which affected her late Majesty with great Solicitude for the rest of her Children: and that on Sir HANS's answering her Enquiries concerning Inoculation in Approbation of it, but at the same time expressing his Diffidence, from his Uncertainty of the Consequences, to persuade or advise the

with an Event truly grateful to every Friend of Reason and Liberty. In this Respect the Conduct was surely worthy the Parents of their future political Family, by admitting the Practice into their natural one, since the Maxim of *Regis ad exemplum totus componitur orbis* is generally true: * as if the divine Providence had distinguishingly constituted their illustrious House Fathers of the natural Health of their Subjects, as well as Restorers of the political Vigour of the *British* Constitution, which had been in some doubtful Circumstances before their critical Accession

the Trial of it upon Patients of such Importance to the Public: Her Majesty, then Princess, asked him, if he would dissuade her from it, to which he answered, he would not, in a Matter so likely to be of such Advantage. To this her final Reply was, that it should be done then, and she immediately ordered him to wait on his late Majesty, who had also commanded his Attendance on the Occasion. Sir *Hans* observing, to the King, the Impossibility of being certain that no dangerous Accidents should ensue from exciting such a Commotion in the Blood; His Majesty replied, that such might, and had happened to Persons, who had lost their Lives by bleeding in a Pleurisy, and taking Physic, tho' with the utmost Care: and upon Sir *Hans's* supposing the few ill Accidents from this Practice might be as fortuitously circumstanced, the Inoculation of the Royal Family was resolved on, and happily performed.

* Dr. DELACOSTE in his *Lettre sur L'inoculation de la petite Veroles*, printed at *Paris* 1723, excepts the *English* particularly from this Habit, where he observes, 'that the greatest Part of the *English* Nation followed the wise Example the Royal Family set them on this Occasion; tho' not from a Spirit of Complaisance for their King, of which, he adds in Italics, *one cannot suspect that Nation*, but out of pure Conviction.' It would not have been very adroit indeed for this *French* Author, in a Letter addressed to his Most Christian Majesty's first Physician, to have aimed at a critical Distinction of the very different Regards, which a great and rational Majority of the *English* have paid to their truly Patriot Kings, and their Reverses, for a few late Centuries.

cession to this Diadem. But this by the Way, this Sally of Duty and Admiration, void of the remotest Intention of Flattery.

It is difficult however not to reflect here on the very different Reception of this Practice in *Turkey* and *England*. PYLARINI informs us, that when it first reached *Constantinople*, it lay, as it were, concealed for some Years; being rarely used, and but among the meaner Sort. Its Tryal here was highly authentic and solemn: never was Mercy more judiciously exercised; its Diffusion was quick and considerable; and its Patrons were of the first Distinction. This was really acting up to the Dignity of reasonable reflecting Creatures; to try and be determined by the very general Event of the Thing, and to be superior to all little Prejudices from the Obscurity of the Inventor, or the humble Circumstances of the first Subjects of the Invention. It was a strong Contraste to the Conduct of the Distressed in a besieged City, who are said to have rejected the good Advice of the wisest Man among them, because the Man was poor; in which Point (as if there really was in Nature an inseparable Connexion between Riches and Wisdom) no small Majority of the Moderns seem to harmonize with these same besieged, by profoundly enquiring, who, whence, and of what Account and Circumstance the Proposer of any Improvement is; with other collateral Queries, equally tending to illustrate the Truth or Falsehood of a Proposition, or the Merit or Futility of a Work, which

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must best appear from the most abstracted Examination of itself. And yet such is often our Bias to meer Names and Notions, that Dr. WAGSTAFFE, who was accounted a Man of Wit, was so moderate a Philosopher, as to think 'Inoculation's being performed by Women, and among an illiterate People, so strong an Objection to it, that he was apprehensive Posterity would scarcely credit its Reception into the *British* Palace.' His (a) HIPPOCRATES might have instructed him that Experience from every Quarter is to be regarded; and his unwarpt Understanding must have suggested, that the Facts, the general Events of the Practice, merited a little of his Consideration. Perhaps we may not prove more unlucky Prophets in apprehending, that a very extensive Posterity, and some other Palaces, may gratefully applaud the masculine Wisdom and Resolution, and imitate the exemplary Conduct, of the *British* Palace, in this Particular.

(a) Μη οκνεειν παρα ιδιολεων ισουρειν, ην τι δοκει ευμερον.
Lib. de Praecept.





SECTION V.

Whether Inoculation conveys the genuine Small Pox? If with less Danger and Difficulty than the natural Disease? And if those once infected by Inoculation are secure from a second variolous Infection?

THE considerable Opposition this important Practice encountered on its Introduction here was extremely natural. It was even right to make every possible Objection to it, that was not plainly trivial and cavilling; and highly prudent to wait for its certain and reiterated Success, before a general Concurrence in it could be reasonably desired. Hence the late diligent and ingenious Dr. JURIN employed himself, for many succeeding Years, in a strict Attention to the Evidence which Facts should give of it, publickly soliciting all Persons employed, or concerned, in it, to favour him with exact and impartial Accounts of its Effects and Events. He rightly supposed that its certain Propagation or Disuse must ensue, according as a numerous Series of Facts should subscribe to the affirmative or negative Solution of the 2d and 3d Queries prefixed to this Section;

to which I have premised the first, as some Opposers of the Method, and particularly Dr. WAGSTAFFE, affirmed it did not give the genuine Disease. And tho' the contrary of this soon became indisputable in the main, yet as a few of the inoculated had no ensuing Disease; and as a principal Purpose of this Work is to inform all Practitioners, who are hitherto unread on this Subject, at home and abroad, and may hereafter be necessarily employed in it, of as much as is material of the History of Inoculation, and to initiate them, as it were, in its Rudiments; we shall first present the Evidence of its giving the true Disease, which being once evinced, a Security from a Return of it must follow as a necessary Consequence, if it really be a true Characteristic of it, never to afflict the same Subject twice.

The general Testimonies of the two Physicians at *Constantinople* have been occasionally recited. Mr. MAITLAND assures us, that three learned Members of the College saw Miss WORTLEY playing about the Room with the Small Pox on her. He affirms, several Persons of Distinction could attest this Fact; and that one of the Physicians (Sir JOHN SHADWELL I have heard) had his Son as happily inoculated the following Month. The condemned Malefactors were inoculated in the Presence of many eminent Physicians, Surgeons and others, whom we must suppose sufficiently attentive to the Progress and Event of it. Besides the

the same Operator inoculated eight others in different Parts of *England* the same Year 1721; and published Certificates signed by the Parents, Friends and Attendants of the inoculated, attesting the Reality of the Disease resulting from the Operation. It were easy to accumulate Evidence on this Point from Dr. NETTLETON and many others; but what established it beyond all Contest, from the Opposers own Concession, was their clamouring soon after, that the Inoculators diffused the natural Disease; which was certainly their best founded Objection to it: since Mr. MAITLAND soon acknowledged, that six Servants of Mr. BATT's in *Hertfordshire*, whose Child he inoculated, and which they frequently caressed under it, were all seized at once with the natural Disease, of which one died. He says they never suspected them to be catching, which it is too probable he affirmed to them; as he honestly acknowledges his Surprise at it, and that he did not think them so himself. It appears a little inconsiderate here, for a Person who had seen the *Pus* infuse the manifest Disease and its Symptoms, not to infer, that it might impart at least a gentle Degree of Infection, which the mildest Portion of the natural Disease has been supposed by some to do. But probably he inferred the contrary from the *Greek* Woman's rejecting the Pock of the Inoculated. Nevertheless his Merit, in being an early Instrument in the Propagation of it, should qualify any of his Mistakes, which occurred during the Infancy of the Practice.

tice; especially when we consider, what his Share of medical Erudition probably was. Dr. NETTLETON, and some others, soon imagined, but without making a Point of it, that the artificial Disease transmitted a very gentle Infection. However that be, which pretty certainly depends on the State of the Recipient, the learned and cautious Dr. FRIEND at length acknowledged his Conviction of its giving a true Pock. It is pleasant to observe, how those, who first denied this, came by Degrees to acknowledge, that it gave something like it; at length to admit that it gave the true Pock; and at last that it sometimes gave a favourable one. They appeared like compelled and unwilling Evidences, grumbling out their half Assent to the Truth; or, like the determined Defenders of a besieged Place, they did all that Obstinacy could effect, till the unsleeping Artillery of Facts beat them from their untenable Holds. Many Years have intervened, many thousand *British* Subjects have been inoculated; and at present our warmest Zealots against the Practice never hesitate to admit its imparting the genuine Small Pox.

That the Peril and Difficulty of it in this Way were greatly less than by the natural, we are positive no Person who has impartially perused all our Litigations on it, can doubt for a Moment. Its Continuance and Increase to this Period amongst us is such an Argument of its much safer and gentler Operation, as is equivalent to a Multitude of Testimonies that might be produced in its Favour;

vour. For, as I have elsewhere observed, it was impossible, from the Nature of Men and Things, that any Success, short of an extraordinary one, could have continued it down to us. A favourable *Ratio* of it, from the strictest Calculations, must have failed to repress the Counter-Efforts of Prejudice, Superstition and Obstinacy; and, I may justly add, of Faction too. Had it only appeared, that three, four, or even five died in the natural Way, for one by Inoculation (tho' the least of these Advantages were no contemptible one) it is clear with me the greatest of them would not have established it with us so soon, and perhaps never. Rushing into the Embraces of a Distemper, as a Security from its worst Effects, had naturally something in it very indigestible and alarming at first: but the salutary Consequences of Inoculation have abundantly demonstrated of it, what was fabled of the Spear of *Achilles*, that it cures the Wounds it inflicted.

But tho' we require no Reiteration of such Evidence ourselves, it may operate, by the divine Favour, to the future Preservation of many. TIMONI undoubtedly says the utmost that can be true, when he affirms, that no one ever died of it; and this is the more surprizing, as he adds, that one half of those seized about the same Time, in the natural Way at *Constantinople*, died. Such a Disproportion must have converted the most obstinate Fatalist. He acknowledges indeed the Death of two of the inoculated, many Days or Weeks after the Termination of the Small

Pox ; but attributes the *Catastrophe*, in both, to other Diseases, or morbid Propensities, plainly existing when the Operation was *inflicted*, as I may term it *here*. There is some Degree of Candour in acknowleging the Facts, tho' not the utmost we could wish for on so interesting a Point. He should have observed, it was improper to inoculate them under such morbid Circumstances, which might probably have ward-ed off a natural Infection. Were we to suppose Inoculation here an epic Personage or Character, and then to invest him with as much Wisdom as good Fortune, he must have declined, or deferred, these particular Conflicts, into which he seems to have been injudiciously compelled here. But if TIMONI himself prescribed these injudicious Inoculations, which does not appear, the *whole* Truth required his embracing such a Mortification, as very few have the Fortitude and Generosity to do for the Benefit of others. We are to suppose however, that he knew no others who died in Consequence of it, which these may probably be said to do, and that he was informed none did.

PYLARINI's Commendation of it, which corresponds very well with our Experience, says, seldom or never has any bad Consequence been observed to happen on this Operation ; tho' it has been performed on all Ages, Sexes and Temperaments. We have had Occasion to observe the Success of Inoculation in the five Malefactors (the sixth being inodored) under the most discouraging

ing Situation and Circumstance, and tunnell'd, as it were, with little Streams of *Pus*. But to speak summarily, we are informed by Dr. JURIN, that 182 Persons were inoculated in 1722, of which the Anti-inoculators affirmed two died. Their Death was certain; the Inoculators were for ascribing it to other Causes; but the fairest and shortest Way is to charge them to the Account of Inoculation; which makes the Deaths by it, for that Year, one in ninety-one. Dr. NETTLETON's accurate Account of the Deaths by the natural Disease then thro' many Towns in *Yorkshire* was, upon an Average, 19 out of 100, or very nearly one in five.

It were easy to transcribe the annual Events of Inoculation, and of the natural Disease, from the Accounts Dr. JURIN annually published from the Years 1721 to 1726 inclusive. But as Dr. SCHEUCHZER has added the Numbers of the Inoculated here in the Years 1728, and 29, and the Event of the Practice then to the former, we shall chuse to present our Readers with a summary View of its Consequences here for the first eight Years, from his Tables; after observing, that the *Ratio* of Deaths in both Ways varied somewhat in the different Years.

A Table containing the several Ages of the Persons inoculated in Great Britain, from the Year 1721, to the End of the Year 1728; together with the Success of the Operation, in the same Manner with those published before.

Age.	Persons inocu- lated.	Had the Small Pox by Inocu- lation.	Had an imper- fect Small Pox.	No Effect.	Suspected to have died.
Under 1 Year.	24	24	00	00	2
1 Year to 2	34	33	00	01	4
2 to 3	65	65	00	00	1
3 to 4	91	88	00	03	1
4 to 5	65	63	00	02	1
5 to 10	257	249	03	05	3
10 to 15	140	131	01	08	1
15 to 20	104	95	03	06	2
20 &c.	110	91	06	13	2
Age unknown.	7	6	00	01	0
Total	897	845	13	39	17

We shall just observe here, that the Deaths of all who were inoculated within that Term were one in fifty-two, or a small Fraction over 52; of those who took an incontestable Small Pox (since it had no Effect on 39) one in 50, or a small Fraction under 50: and if we add the 13, who are considered as having had an imperfect Small Pox, the Deaths will be one in 50, with much

much such a Fraction above it. It is remarkable however, that we never heard of any one of the last having taken a subsequent Infection. We shall transcribe nothing advanced by the Advocates for Inoculation, nor even by any Moderators in the Controversy, to prove, or to attempt to prove, that the Deaths of some, or of any one, failing after Inoculation, ought to be ascribed to any other Disease or Indisposition; or even to any previous natural Infection, to which it is certain some of them had been exposed. During the same eight Years the Deaths by the natural Small Pox were, *communibus annis*, by Dr. SCHEUCHZER's Tables, one twelfth Part of all the Deaths occurring within the Bills of Mortality.

The Rev. Mr. MATHER's Letter to Dr. JURIN dated March 10, 1721, supposes 300 inoculated in and near *Boston, New England*, out of which he says five, or at most six, died, which he is very willing to impute to previous Infection, or other Circumstances. But we shall find by the following Table from Dr. BOYLSTON, there were 18 less inoculated: except we chuse to apply twenty or thirty more (which Capt. OSBORNE says he supposes might be inoculated, but of whom he can give no Account) to make up the 300 computed by Mr. MATHER.

Their

<i>Their Ages.</i>	<i>Persons inocu- lated.</i>	<i>Had the Small Pox by Inocu- lation.</i>	<i>Had an imper- fect Small Pox.</i>	<i>Had no Effect.</i>	<i>Suspected to have died of Inoculation.</i>
From 9 Months } to 2 Years old. }	06	06	00	00	00
2 to 5	14	14	00	00	00
5 to 10	16	16	00	00	00
10 to 15	29	29	00	00	00
15 to 20	51	51	00	00	01
20 to 30	62	60	00	02	01
30 to 40	44	42	00	02	01
40 to 50	08	07	00	01	00
50 to 60	07	06	00	01	02
60 to 67	07	07	00	00	01
Total Inoculated by Drs. Roby and Thompson in Roxbury and Cambridge. }	244	238	00	06	06
	36	36	00	00	00
Total Two inoculated by Boylston af- ter his Table was printed off }	280	274	00	00	06
	2				
	282				

This makes the *Ratio* of Mortality by Inoculation in *New England*, in the Year 1721 and 22 exactly one in 47: but to be impartial, it is not unlikely that some of the deceased might be previously

viously infected, as they were considerably exposed: and if we turn our Eyes to the Ages of some of the Inoculated, we shall not be surprized to find the *Ratio* somewhat less favourable in *New England* than in *Old*. *Boylston* informs us that in 1721 and the Beginning of 1722, 5759 Persons had the natural Small Pox in *New England*, of whom 844 died. The Numbers inoculated in *Old* and *New England*, within eight Years from the Introduction of the Practice, were 1179, of whom died 23, or one in 51, with a small Fraction above 51. And as the natural Disease, on a fair Allegation, carried off in both Countries, during that Term, full one in six; there must have died by it, out of the above 1179, supposing it to have treated them as it did the rest, full 196, from which deducting the 23 deceased, 173 Lives will remain as the Number preserved by Inoculation. But we must remark, that some Allowance is to be made for 45 in both the Tables, on whom Inoculation had no Effect. And this may suffice as an impartial Exemplification of the good Effects of that Practice in its Infancy, as we may say, amongst us.

Notwithstanding which, as a Son of the Duke of *Bridgwater's*, and another of the Earl of *Sunderland's*, with a few others of Condition, were among the deceased, the manifest Advantage of the Practice seemed insufficient to extend it, or even to maintain its Ground: since we find a Dormancy or Stagnation of it for some ensuing Years, and no Person continuing the annual Account

count of its Events, which some probably would, if any thing like the former Numbers had annually submitted to it. This is sufficient however to demonstrate the much greater Influence, which the Recovery or Loss of a Person of Birth and Rank may have upon the Fate of any Practice, than its good or bad Event among People in humbler Life; while that of the meer *inops, inhumataq; turba* is little heard of, and less adverted to. But tho' the Death of Persons of Birth and Condition, where their Virtues and Abilities correspond to their exalted Situation, be certain and signal Losses to any Kingdom or People; yet Physic, which implies Philosophy, and does not consider Heraldry or Station among its essential *Praecognoscenda*, can only estimate the general Convenience or Inconvenience of any medical Practice, from the Numbers that recover, or fail, by it; or, as our homely Phrase expresses it, merely by telling Noses.

But to come to later Times and a different Climate, the Small Pox was brought from *Africa* into *South Carolina* in the Spring of 1738. And it was very generally agreed, by the Friends and Opponents of Inoculation, after the Disease had finished its Course there, that 1000 Persons white and black, young and adult (tho' the Want of an exact Register is truly to be regretted) had undergone the Operation there. In 1743 I published an Essay at *London* on this Practice, subjoining an *Appendix*, which contained the most faithful Account of its Event abroad, for which
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my Memory of so recent an Occurrence then tolerably qualified me. This, I have heard from different Persons, had been of some effectual Tendency to revive the Practice; whence I have the Satisfaction of considering myself an Instrument, however remotely, of the Benefit which many have since received, from a judicious Application of it, by others. To be certain of avoiding all Exaggeration, I estimated the Subjects of Inoculation but at 800; tho' Mr. MowBRAY, who introduced it there, assured me, he had inoculated full 450. Four other Practitioners soon abetted, and were liberally employed in, the Practice: a fifth at length acceded, and one entirely declined it from religious Scruples. That Performance contained a very summary Account of the Cases of four or five out of the eight Patients; who died after Inoculation: but as I am since convinced I omitted one, tho' very unconsciously, I embrace this Opportunity of rectifying that Omision. Yet as every one from that Province thought the Number of the inoculated underrated, I presume it will not be unfair to conclude, on the whole, that one died out of every hundred inoculated there; or, supposing but 800 inoculated, it will be as one in 89. And if it be considered, that a great Majority of these were thus voluntarily infected during the raging Heats of June, July, and August in a Climate, where the Sun is within nine Degrees of the *Zenith* at the Solstice; and in a sandy, flat and marshy Situation, during which Term the natural Disease

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certainly killed at least every fifth it seized, the *Ratio* will be greatly in Favour of the Practice. That the Inhabitants were fully convinced of this is manifest, from few, very few Subjects of this Disease having arrived from thence into *England* since that Time, without submitting to the Operation. As well as my Memory serves me, the Small Pox was carried into *Philadelphia* in *Pennsylvania* a few Years after this, where the general Event of Inoculation was said to be still more benign; but having had no authentic Information of Particulars from any Eye Witness of the Facts, I only mention this general Rumour, which I never heard materially contradicted.

Dr. MEAD assures us, in his Chapter on this Practice, it was certified to him by a very creditable Witness, (1) that a Gentleman in *St. Christopher's* inoculated 300 Slaves himself, from the Age of five to thirty, without losing one. Such Accounts reflect some Credit on TIMONI's Report of its unfailing Success at *Constantinople*. Our Information of the Event of the Small Pox in *New England* last Year makes 5059 white Persons naturally infected, of whom 452 died, which is, to avoid a Fraction, one in eleven, no unfavourable Proportion. Of 485 Blacks seized naturally 62 died, or full one in seven. Of 1970 Whites inoculated 24 died, or one in 82; of 139 Blacks 7 died, or very nearly one in 20; a very unusual Mortality indeed by Inoculation; and which might induce us to subscribe to Dr.

MEAD's

(1) De Variol. P. 80.

MEAD's Observation of the *Africans* being more fatally obnoxious to this Disease; were it not strongly contrasted by its extraordinary Success among them at *St. Kitts*; and did we not find in Dr. SCHEUCHZER's Pamphlet the Death of three out of twenty-five inoculated at *Dublin* in the Years 1723, 24, 25 and 26, the much greatest Proportion ever known. We are informed indeed that two of the three were very sickly, one but fourteen Months old; but such Circumstances, tho' mentioned to exculpate the Practice, effectually accuse the Practitioners of it, under them. The Numbers of the Inoculated then in these three different Parts of *America* were 3209, of whom 40 died, or one in 80. Neither the Date of the Year, nor the Mortality of the natural Disease at *St. Kitt's*, are specified; but if we suppose it altogether in *America* as one in eight, the Medium between a fifth in *Carolina* and an eleventh in *Boston*, a natural Infection must have destroyed, instead of forty, 401, whence 361 Lives may very probably have been preserved by Inoculation at those Times and Places.

This Preservation of Life being the interesting, the cardinal Point, let us recur to *Great Britain*, since the late general Revival and Extension of this Method, where we shall find the Advantages of it extraordinarily augmented. Some Years since a very worthy and ingenious Physician at *Winchester* informed me by Letter, that in several Towns of *Hampshire*, *Sussex* and *Surrey* about twelve Years ago there were near 2000 inoculated, of whom two only died, both pregnant Women,

Women, and admitting the Operation contrary to the Opinion of their Physicians. Since this Revival of the Practice too we find by a Note to the Bishop of *Worcester's* Sermon, that three very eminent Surgeons have inoculated above 1500, with the Loss of three only. Serjeant RANBY has inoculated upwards of 1000 of these, and personally assured me he never lost one. Great Circumspection and Judgment must have been necessary to such uninterrupted Success. The other Gentlemen were Serjeant HAWKINS, and Mr. MIDDLETON, Surgeon General to the Army. Of 134, mostly Adults, inoculated at the Inoculation Hospital in 1751 and a few Months of 52 there has not been a single Failure. Mr. WINCHESTER, late Surgeon to the *Foundling Hospital*, informs me, that 186 of the Children have been inoculated, of whom but one has died. In his private Practice, which he assures me, amounts at least to 370, he has lost but one single Patient. But it would be endless to enquire into the Numbers inoculated by Physicians, Surgeons and Apothecaries, throughout the two Kingdoms. We shall only add here, as it has been published, that Mr. FREWIN of *Rye* affirms he has inoculated 300 in *Sussex*, of whom but one died, which he endeavours to attribute to a Worm Fever. But supposing his Veracity with Regard to the 299, this Evasion were better omitted. Indeed some Inoculators have been injudiciously bigotted in this Respect, when the plain *Ratio* of Mortality by the natural Disease, and the Loss of every Individual, that died from the least apparent Con-

Consequence of Inoculation, are sufficient to convince and determine every Man in his Senses. The public Papers inform us, that lately at *Salisbury* two died out of * 268 inoculated. Now if we suppose the Number of *near* 2000 inoculated in *Hampshire*, *Sussex* and *Surrey*, as it is indefinitely expressed, to be certainly 1500, the Numbers of the Inoculated mentioned in this Paragraph will amount to 4252, of whom ten died in Consequence of Inoculation, being one in 425 at the nearest. Now as Self-love is much stronger than public or social, perhaps it will admit of no long Debate, whether the Members of Physic, considered in the Aggregate, would desire the Hazard by Inoculation to be less: as Navigators are said to apprehend every Body's commencing such, on the Discovery of the Longitude.

I shall not dissemble my Knowledge, however, that a few more than those admitted to have failed in the former Paragraph, have miscarried in and near *London*, during this general Success of the Practice; besides some few I have heard of at a greater Distance from it: nor shall I conceal my private Belief, that a few more than I have heard of may have also failed under it. It is but too natural to suggest, that wherever the Love of Money was the ruling Passion, every such Practitioner would carefully avail himself of every Circumstance, that might conceal or disguise such an ill Event, as would probably contract a valuable Branch of Practice. But as a Majority of the

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* A private Letter informs me 422 were inoculated, of whom four died.

Populace, tho' a much less Majority than at first, are still averse to this Practice, we must impartially infer, that their Promulgation of its ill Success, and the Concern of the Relations and Friends of the Deceased, must very generally defeat the utmost Endeavours of the unsuccessful Practitioner to conceal it. I have heard the Names of seven or eight, who have miscarried in Town and Country, during my Residence of about twelve Years in the former; and am morally convinced myself, that throughout *England* they have not, all together, exceeded twenty, if they have amounted to it.

But we shall have no Right nor Colour to apply such Deceased, in Deduction from the favourable *Ratio* of Inoculation just specified; since we have not adduced the Numbers inoculated by the same Persons, and recovered, to oppose to those who failed, we will not say from, but under, their Conduct. It is rather fair to suppose the Recovered in the usual *Ratio* of Inoculation. Agreeably to this a Correspondent lately informed me, they lost but one in about 400 at *Blandford* in *Dorsetshire* by it. What they must have saved then will not be very difficult to compute. A Gentleman from *Oxfordshire* assures me it has been equally successful there. I have heard of many, indefinitely, inoculated in *Scotland*, within a few Years past, but of none deceased by it. I have heard the Practice is become very familiar in *Ireland*, and with a Success very different from its earliest Events there.

there. The ingenious Mr. SHARP, and many other eminent Surgeons within the Bills, have doubtless inoculated great Numbers successfully: Persons of inferior Note have not been without some Patients in the Method; and I might specify a few I have fortunately attended here myself: all which must fully counter-balance the Deceased by it, who may not have been named. And here it may be high Time to refer the different Peril, by natural and artificial Infection, to the Solution of our Readers, on the Amount and Credibility of the Evidence adduced; which may at least save others the Trouble of compiling, as we have done, in order to compare the future Success of Inoculation with the past.

An Abatement of the Difficulty and Loathsomeness of the Disease, in Proportion to the Abatement of its Fatality, may be obviously inferred. But were a formal Proof required, it is considerably anticipated by the Evidence already produced to the Solution of those Queries, with which it is blended. The Inoculators, the Patients, and their Attendants are so clear and unanimous on this Point, that I shall content myself with repeating here what I have abundantly seen and formerly said, ' That it were endless to recite the Cases of those who recovered in a very easy unloathsome Manner: the very List would be tedious and swelling, and, without any Injury to Truth, it may be affirmed they were nineteen twentieths of those who admitted the Operation.' This evidently supposes at the same Time, that

all the Inoculated were not indiscriminately visited with equal Lenity, which was generally varied in Proportion to the Quantity of Eruption, as in the natural Disease. But reiterated Experience has made it very clear to me, that in equal Degrees of Eruption by Nature and Art, the Symptoms attending the latter are remarkably lighter: where there is such a Quantity by Inoculation, which sometimes happens, as to dispose to a secondary Fever, of which I have seen a few Instances, the Ruffle is lighter, and its Duration less: and if about the ordinary Term of its Approach the Incisions discharge more copiously, there is very seldom a perceptible one, however liberal the Eruption has been. On this Occasion I have ventured, tho' with much personal Respect, to dissent from the experienced Dr. MEAD, who thinks the Discharge from the Incisions (which yet he inculcates us to promote) and the Suppuration of the Pustules frequently crowding about them, too little to be of significant Service in the Disease. For if it shall appear, that the Discharge from the Orifices, on the Maturation of the Pustules, is often sufficiently variolous to convey the Small Pox; and that Discharge has been observed by many Physicians and Surgeons to be considerably free in those, who have had the least Eruption and mildest Symptoms, we cannot well conceive the Discharge of such variolated Pus, at a critical Season, as insignificant to the Patient, when we reflect how small a Portion or Particle of it will infect. And this Circumstance may possibly be

be no ill-founded Exception to that generally true Hippocratic Axiom of (a) no small Discharge being critical; for tho' the visible Quantity be comparatively small, its Contents are innumerable and potent.

With Regard to the last Query, tho' we might very consequentially assume the future Security of those infected by Art, yet since the Contrary has been affirmed in Print a few Years ago, we proceed to a Discussion of it. To recur here, as we have frequently done, to our first Instructors, PYLARINI says, that tho' the Inoculated had but a few Pustules they escaped future Contagion. TIMONI says still further, there are some in whom no Pustule arises, but the Places of Incision swell up into purulent Tubercles; yet these never had the Small Pox afterwards, tho' cohabiting with those infected. Our first Proof of the Security of Persons who had formerly the Disease, from a Re-infection by Art, was prudently made on *Richard Evans*, one of the seven Malefactors, who having had the natural Small Pox in Prison the Year before, was inoculated with five others, by Incisions abundantly imbued, and thus became the Subject of an *Experimentum crucis* on this Occasion. Mr. MAITLAND informs us, that on the seventh from Inoculation he had no manner of Pain, Heat, or Redness in any of his Incisions, nor any Alteration otherwise; but that all of them, continuing pale from the Beginning, dried up on the sixth. And that

(a) 'Ουδεν ἄλιγον κρείικον.

this Indemnity was equally certain from having past through the artificial Disease is evident, from authentic Certificates, that *Elizabeth Harris*, one of the inoculated in *Newgate*, soon attended two Patients in the natural Disease in *Hertfordshire*, without receiving the least Infection: And when MAITLAND published his Vindication against WAGSTAFFE she had attended above 20 with equal Security. Dr. NETTLETON says, the Inoculated have afterwards attended others in the Disease; and that often Children who had been inoculated lay in the same Bed with others in the natural Distemper, and all the Time of it, without Infection. To my own Knowledge Miss BAKER, of twelve Years of Age, having been effectually inoculated, some Weeks after her speedy Recovery, made a fresh Incision, and, with the Assistance of a young Lady, applied fresh Pock to it three successive Mornings. About the eighth Day she felt her Head ach slightly, and being frightened, revealed the whole Process: but after lying down a little in her Cloaths, she sprung up saying, she would not be sick any longer, her Head-ach quickly vanishing, and no Fever, nor the least Eruption or Disorder ensuing. Now tho' the Event demonstrated the susceptible *Pabulum* expelled by the first Inoculation, yet the *Pus* she so repeatedly infused was heterogeneous as Matter, or suppurated Blood, and might excite some little Disorder, previous to its Expulsion: and this probably the Matter from a simple *Phlegmon* would do. But with Regard to the

the Small Pox, its Seeds here were sown in an exhausted Soil. In brief, as Dr. NETTLETON justly says, the *Quomodo* of Contagion makes no Difference in the usual Indemnity: and the Continuance of the Practice to this Time is at least ten thousand Evidences of the Truth.

And yet so unaccountable were the Operations of Bigotry and Malevolence (an Error and Crime that too often concur) that in order to strike at the Root of this Practice, and deprive their Fellow-subjects and their Species of such a manifest Security from this Destroyer, many wicked Rumours were spread of the Re-infection of the Inoculated; for wicked they must have been in the conscious Contrivers. One Report, that a Patient, formerly inoculated, had died afterwards of the natural Disease, produced a Letter from Dr. NETTLETON to Dr. JURIN, absolutely disavowing the Fact, but acknowledging the Death of an inoculated Infant of fourteen Months old. I have heard myself a great many Rumours of the Inoculated being naturally infected afterwards, which, upon Examination, always proved just as many Lies. But there never was a malignant one more impudently propagated, than that printed in an Appendix to Dr. CLINCH's historical Essay on the Small Pox. This was in a Letter from one Jones a pretended Surgeon at Oswestry in Shropshire, which affirmed, ' he had ' tried Inoculation (which he could not approve) ' on several, and especially on a Child of two ' years old, whose Small Pox appeared in a Fort-
night

‘ night, and she did well. But that in three Weeks
 ‘ after she sickened again of the Small Pox, which
 ‘ came out as thick as ever was seen, but that at
 ‘ last the Child recovered.’ This malevolent,
 and, as it appeared, ignorant Hypocrite did not
 hesitate to repeat the tremendous Name of GOD
 thankfully for his Blessing on this fictitious Ino-
 culation, which was never performed. For on
 Dr. JURIN’s writing to Mr. PARRY Clergyman
 of *Oswestry*, and to Mr. TOMKIES a Surgeon
 there; though *Jones* solemnly averred the Inocu-
 lation to have been performed on a Child of his
 own, he would not shew the Incisions, name the
 Person from whom he took the Infection, nor
 directly answer any of Mr. PARRY’s Queries;
 but told him, that if Dr. JURIN would give
 him a *handsome Reward*, he would come to *Lon-
 don*, declare the whole Truth, and bring Wit-
 nesses to prove it upon Oath; which the Doctor
 prudently declining to give, on a further, and
 we may suppose, a more earnest Expostulation
 of Mr. PARRY’s, he sent up, in a most igno-
 rant, mispelt, and nonsensical Epistle to Dr.
 JURIN, a Confession, that he never inoculated
 any one in his Life, which indeed any Person may
 credit, even on his own bad Evidence. We have
 printed the Scroll *literatim* at the Bottom of the
 following Page as a Curiosity, and the very Quin-
 tessence of Ignorance. Moderate and common
 Absurdity is generally dull, but proves ridiculous
 enough in the Extreme to afford a momentary
 Diversion.

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And indeed it may be justly affirmed, that a considerable Majority of those, who were thus vehemently prejudiced against Inoculation were, like Mr. Jones, of the meer Multitude; or as Mr. DUMMER pleasantly termed the Exclaimers against it in *Boston*, of the *confluent sort*. The last impotent Attempt to revive this Prejudice of a

Letter from Mr. JONES to Dr. JURIN (printed literatim from the Original.)

S I R,

HAVEING considered vpon the Affaires of your Desire and cannot find my Self Able nor Capable to giue you Tru Account of the Inoculation of the Small Pox, nor am Soe well Instructed in the Art to Explain the Terminations to be publish'd, nor neuer did Designe or Desire it: but what I write was to my Son being he sent to me to Know my oppinion of the Inoculation: being his children have not had the Small Pox Then: and being it was to him in a Way of Preswation may be there is Some thing in the Letter more then all Truth: and all the Account That Euer I gaue was to him and noe Man Els: but neuer did I Design or Desire to make any Thing publick that was in it: how it came to you I cannot Tell: I am Sure it did not come vpon my Account: to Any man alive but to my owne Son and not to him to make A publick Game of it: but he Shall Loose more by it Then euer he can gaine by Them that he gave Account of it. but what foollish fancy that was in his head I cannot Tell: If I had any Thing that was worth the publishing I Should write It Down with my own hand and Wittness to It. and Derection to you or Some other gentlemen for to giue There Assistance to publish it but, as for Really Inoculation I cannot giue you Account of it: for I am Ignorant in it for I neuer Saw it Done by any man In my born Days but what foollish Inuention I had in owne head I could not bring it to perfection and neuer gott a Hapeny by nor neuer shall: Therefore I haue nothing to Say neither to the one or to the other but pray God to blefs you all

Your Servant,

DA. JONES.

I cannot Say that I have Inoculat my owne Child nor any body Els because I do not Know what Reall Inoculation is

Ofwestry, March

DA. JONES.

11, 1725-6.

a second Infection of the Inoculated was in a Pamphlet intituled *Several Cases in Physic*, with the Name of a sage Fellow of the College prefixed to it. But as that Imposture was seasonably exposed, it recorded this imaginary Re-infection less effectually, than the certain Errors and Prejudices of its concealed Author.

It being evidently proved then, that Inoculation produced the genuine Small Pox: that, being so produced, they were attended with much less Peril, Difficulty and Loathsomeness than the natural: and that those thus infected were secure from all subsequent variolous Infection; it only remains to observe here, that the Opponents of Inoculation were better warranted in affirming, it did not *always* give the Small Pox. This deserves our considerate Retrospection, in order to suggest, what Persons so circumstanced may reasonably apprehend for themselves. PYLARINI says, that such of the Inoculated as had no Eruption, were infected promiscuously with others, when the Distemper proved epidemic. Out of the 474 inoculated here by the End of 1723, twenty-nine were not infected. Dr. NETTLETON admits that two of his Patients missed, one of whom taking the natural Disease a fortnight after, he imagines to have been inoculated with a stale inefficacious *Pus*, which had been taken when the Pustules were withered and almost gone. In *Boston* six missed. In *Carolina* I saw one white Person and three Slaves who did not take, and heard of another. One of the three has lived

lived three Years since in *London*, never avoided the Contagion, and never took it. Miss BRUCE of *Mark-lane* was inoculated by Mr. SAVAGE 1751. I visited her, the Incision inflamed considerably, but discharged little. She had a Fever the eighth Day, which continued 36 Hours, and sweated profusely; for having a very free transpirable Surface, every little Cold, and all her few Complaints, generally terminated that Way. She had, some little Time before sickening, a small Pustule with Matter on her Tongue, and afterwards a very little one yellow-pointed, rather than headed, close to one Extremity of her Mouth, which left an obscure Pit. She had no other Eruption that could be considered as variolous, if this uncertain one might, but was purged repeatedly about the usual Term of purging after the Disease. On the Termination of her Fever she continued, thro' the whole Course of her Confinement, as lively as ever. Serjeant RANBY's Papers contain a Case very parallel to this, and some Years have intervened without Re-infection, which the Person is free from any Apprehension of.

Now some Persons missing by Inoculation may be considered as exempted by the previous Disease, which two of the twenty-nine mentioned by Dr. JURIN are expressly said to be, having been inoculated, as such, for Experiment. It appeared afterwards that one of Dr. NETTLETON's two had had the Disease. BOYLSTON says it was affirmed of three out of his six, that they were

were remembered to have had it very young; and a fourth recollected that, when she was very young, the Doctor and Nurse disputed whether she had the Small Pox or not, having but three Pustules, only one of which pitted. The Gentleman in *Carolina*, who wastwice inoculated without Effect, was really suspected by his Friends in *England* to have had it very gently in his Infancy in *Yerksbire*. The four Negroes were all born in *Africa*, and might not improbably have had it mildly in their Infancy. As they are liable to a great Variety of cuticular Diseases, a slight Pit or two was the less credited for a Mark of the Distemper. Dr. JURIN observed, that Inoculation missed oftner of its Effect on the more advanced than on young Children, it being more likely the former have already had it than the last. And we may add, that the Parents of adult Subjects, who might have seen them in a mild Small Pox, or over-looked the most gentle Degree of it, which has certainly happened, are generally dead when their advanced Posterity are inoculated; whence any Information or Hint concerning a former Disease is often totally obstructed.

Others may have remained uninfected from a total Absence of this specific *Pabulum* in their Habit. And undoubtedly each Constitution is exempted from some particular Diseases, and more prone to others. In some this Exemption may be only temporary, and depend on any present or previous relaxing and evacuating Disease, as
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chronical Intermittents, Hæmorrhages, Diarrhæas, or an accidental over-moist and leucophlegmatic *Crafsis*; whence the Powder, as we may metaphorically term the Fuel here, being damped, the variolous Spark is for that Season extinguished. Others may have but a very small Proportion of the Fuel, and so very free a Surface, that upon the most favourable Mode of Contagion, a copious *Diaphoresis* may expell, through the exhaling Vessels, the *Effluvia* which were admitted by the inhaling ones, or by an Incision: for supposing them to encounter nothing assimilable in the Blood, they must nevertheless be expelled, as heterogeneous to it. And this, with very great Probability, was Miss BRUCE's Case, where the *Crassamentum* was scarcely affected enough to furnish one visible Efflorescence, and the variolous Cause was emitted with the transudatory Lymph.

We may justly infer however from certain Experience, that wherever Inoculation missed, from whatever Cause, the Operation was introductive of no other ill Consequence: though with Regard to their future Exemption, it must depend on the particular Cause of their late one. Thus if that were owing either to a natural and total Absence of the variolous *Pabulum*, or to a very gentle Degree of the genuine Small Pox insensibly past through before, there can be little Doubt of their perpetual Indemnity. But where the Operation has been ineffectual, from the late dormant and unsusceptible State of the Fuel, when-

ever

ever those Causes depressing or damping it are removed, the Subjects are doubtless liable to the Disease. We are to suppose though in such Cases, that a Dose of active variolous Matter has been applied and received. And if the Incision has inflamed, though but a little, and a very small Number of Pustules, which observe the *Stadia* of the gentlest Disease, appear, I shall not doubt myself of the Patients future Security. It has been certainly known that one only has risen, and the Patient, residing for years afterwards in the Scene of Infection, has not been visited with it.

The accurate Dr. JURIN considers 5 out of 474, as having had an imperfect Small Pox. This gives us an Idea of some Eruption, which did not exactly fill, mature, or observe the usual Stages of the regular Disease. BOYLSTON does not set down one Patient of near 300 under this Predicament; but his inferior Accuracy and greater Temerity on this Subject are very obvious. It were to be wished we had been informed of any remarkable Sequel to this imperfect Small Pox; though if they had taken the Disease afterwards, it is probable we must have heard it, from one Party at least.





SECTION VI.

Whether there be a material Difference in the variolous Matter, taken from different Degrees of the Disease? Between that taken from the natural, and from the artificial? And whether either be communicative of any other Distemper or Ailment?

THESE Doubts and Objections, but more particularly the last, having contracted the early Progress of Inoculation among us; tho' their Operation at present is much abated: yet in order to restrain it always within its justest Bounds, and to avail our Neighbours (who may hereafter admit Inoculation, and have these same Objections to it repeated) of our Experience concerning them, we shall attempt their distinct Discussion in this Section.

It appears the Grecian Operatrix was very careful in her Choice of the Ferment, as PYLARINI terms it, extracting the Matter from the ripe and kindly Pustules of a young Child, otherwise of a sound Constitution. He says, she re-

jected the *Pus* from the Inoculated as ineffectual. TIMONI also says, they pitch upon some young, sound and healthy Subject, seized with the natural Small Pox, and of the distinct Kind, to take the Matter from. He adds, it was taken the 12th or 13th Day from Seizure, and Experience shews it may be properly taken as soon as the Matter is well concocted, smooth and equal; and that it will be effectual as long as it can be fairly extracted from the Pustules, which, in some Instances it may be a Week, and in others I have seen it a full Fortnight, after the first evident Suppuration. Those Gentlemen who imagine the variolous Matter may impart a gentler, tho' effectual Disease, by its being kept, from an Avolation of its most subtil and volatile Parts, will doubtless prefer its being extracted from some of the Pustules that are likely to dry last, which are generally on the Extremities, and opened or penetrated with the least Inconvenience to the Infected; being replenished too from the later and more dilute Runnings of the variolous Distillation, as we have ventured to term the Eruption and filling of the Pustules. And besides what has been formerly hinted on such Circumstance, it is evident in Fact, that the peculiar Virulence of some Poisons may essentially consist in their most volatile Parts; from the violent Effects of certain chemical Fumes, which leave the remaining Mass but medicinal and sanative. I have been certainly informed, that a Relation of my own dropped down instantaneously dead, on pouring out a large

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Quantity of some distilled Spirits from one Vessel into others. And that the Vehicles of some Poisons may become less noxious and acrid, from an Exhalation of their most exalted Particles is evident, from the Juice of the *Cassada* Root, which containing certain Death on its first Expression, becomes innocent and insipid in a very few Days; the dry Root, after Expression, making a wholesome, and not unpalatable, Bread. Be these Facts however more or less applicable to the different Situation and Age of the variolous Pustules, Reason and Experience concur to make us prefer a bright well concocted Matter, which will not be too mature, as long as it is imputrid and efficacious.

On the other Hand Mr. FREWIN in *Sussex*, who was pretty active and enterprizing in this Practice, tells us, he took and applied some of the Liquid in the Eruptions, while yet in its limpid State; and could perceive no other Difference, than its being somewhat slower in its Operation. This Practitioner has not informed us, whether the same Curiosity prompted him to take this unripe Liquid from the first Eruptions that afforded it, which would probably be those of the Face and Neck, and which we must have disapproved for Reasons already given. Besides which, I should have doubted, before his Experiment, of the Efficacy of the unripe Lymph of the later and lower Eruptions; as I should the Germination and Fertility of Grain sowed in its lactescent and unconcocted State.

PYLARINI, like a Physician, at once inferred the Efficacy of the *Pus* from Inoculation, which the *Greeks* rejected. It was natural enough for him to suppose, in the Infancy of this Practice, that it would be milder than the natural, as being the Produce of a milder Disease: but this he modestly submitted to further Experience, which, I imagine, will rather induce us to conclude, that what he was for attributing to the Matter from the Inoculated, depended much more on its Application by Incision. We have at present not the least Doubt of the Efficacy of the Matter from Inoculation. Mr. RANBY's Papers inform me he has found it effectual in the 5th Remove from the natural *Pus*, which I have also experienced myself; and a Gentleman abroad assured me it had the same Energy in the 7th or 8th Succession, which we may securely extend to the eight hundredth.

It seem'd uncertain as yet whether the purulent Discharge from the Incisions was variolous. Dr. NETTLETON informed Dr. JURIN in 1723, that the Matter infused into a Lad unaffected by it was chiefly taken from the Incision, the Pustules being withered and almost gone; whence he inferred the Matter from the Incisions will not infect. FREWIN, who published in 1749, says, that, for want of pustulary Matter, he often applied the purulent Discharge by the Incisions in the Height of the Disease, which has succeeded well: but that trying the same 10 or 12 Days after the Turn of the Pock, it failed. It would have
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been material if he had distinguished here, whether or no there was any Pustule within the Lips, or close on the Verge, of the Orifice, which sometimes happens. As many of the Inoculated have very few Pustules, and they are sometimes disposed to scab and wither away with very little Suppuration, it might be of Service to discover that the Matter from the Incisions would infect: but it would be certainly satisfactory to find it would, where there was no Eruption from Inoculation, as its Variolosity would greatly warrant the future Security of the Person it was taken from. That it is variolous is now evinced. Mr. WALL, Surgeon of the inoculating Hospital, infected a Child of seven Years, with a considerable Eruption of the distinct Small Pox, from the suppurated Incisions of a Lady of Condition, who had not a single Pustule, tho' a Headach and slight Fever at the usual Time of sickening.

But as the Friends of Inoculation vaunted, in the earliest Contests about it, that they could select a benign Matter from a mild Disease and a sound Constitution, for the Infusion of the Small Pox, which were not always the Circumstances of natural Infection: while its Opponents declaimed on the great Danger of inoculating, with the Small Pox, any hereditary or contracted Diseases of the Person it was taken from; the Certainty, or, if that should be unattainable, the Probability or Improbability of the Assertions on each Side deserves our Consideration.

My having a large Family obnoxious to this Infection in 1738 rendered me more than ordinarily attentive to every Mode and Circumstance of it. After a mature Consideration of the Disease, of the written Facts and Arguments for and against Inoculation, and a considerable Measure of autoptic Evidence on this Occasion, had irresistably determined me to prefer the Operation, I could not but approve the Conduct of the first Operators, in selecting, with all due Caution, the best conditioned Matter from the most benign Disease, and healthiest Subjects to inoculate from; as well as the Expediency of taking it at an Age, when they could not be supposed to contract any Disorder from their own Irregularity. I considered, and still consider it, in the important Function of infusing a Disease, as the Duty of the Infuser to avail his Patient of every possibly availing Circumstance; that, in Case of a Miscarriage, which repeated Experience has manifested the Contingency of, he may have nothing, but the Want of a supernatural Penetration, to reproach himself with. And this I am heartily persuaded is the general Conduct of as many, of every medical Arrangement and Denomination, as are engaged in giving the Disease. But the present Question is, whether this be essentially important and necessary in itself, or only very preferable, from great Prudence and abundant Caution. When I had repeatedly seen the Matter taken from one Patient under a very small Eruption, on its Application to half a Dozen, produce a different Quantity of Eruption, some-

sometimes very different, in each; and the *Pus* from another under a considerably more copious, tho' distinct, Eruption, convey no more, and sometimes less, than the former; and generally found the Height or Remissness of the Symptoms to correspond with the visible Quantity of Pustules, it was impossible to avoid inferring, that such Variations resulted from the different Constitutions of the Inoculated. Hence, in the little Essay published about ten Years past, I ventured to assert, that tho' something might perhaps depend on the Quality of the infused Matter, (whence every Operator must endeavour to procure the most unexceptionable) there was certainly much more in the Disposition of the Body into which, and the Season of the Year when, it was infused. In the former Part of my Opinion I have the Pleasure to be confirmed by the Suffrage of Dr. MEAD, who thinks (a) the Condition of the receiving Body a more important Circumstance than that of the imparting one. But besides this most rational Inference, there are not a few Facts directly corroborative of it. The first Inoculator I ever knew, a Person of great Veracity, assured me privately, he had inoculated with *Pus* from a Patient loaded with a natural Confluence, of which he afterwards died; and that those inoculated with it did entirely well, without any severe or unusual Symptom. The

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* Praeterea plus mea opinione refert, in quale corpus infundatur, quam de quali eximatur pestilentiae virus.

De Variol. P. 84.

adventurous Mr. FREWIN says, he has known 21 Persons inoculated the same Day, from a confluent Pock, which finally killed the Patient ; yet all those, he affirms, had it in as favourable a Way as could be wished. He adds, he has inoculated many more with Matter of the malignant kind, without the least ill Consequence. Now, tho' I am not without some Acknowledgement for such an Illumination on this curious Topic, as I shall not chuse to question the Author's Veracity ; yet I must confess the Idea of it gives me a Horror, which is not very philosophical perhaps ; but is such, as would prevent me from troubling him to select Pock for a Friend or Patient of mine. I should have wanted an eighth Convict for the Experiment. The sole Use I would make of these Instances is this, that supposing, only for Argument's Sake, such a confluent and malignant Small Pox to reign so generally, that no better Matter could be procured, I should prefer inoculating even from them to their natural Infection. I must suppose however, that it is not taken from a Disease attended with a Gangrene, which we have cautioned the Subjects of the Small Pox to avoid the Stench of. But in other Respects enough has been instanced and implied, to make the Friends of Inoculation admit, that the Opportunity of selecting Matter, from a particular Sort or Degree of the Disease, is far from being its most material Advantage.

We proceed to consider, whether the infectious Matter is communicative of any other Disease,

ease, or morbid Disposition, the Person it was extracted from might have, or be liable to; which was strongly affirmed and industriously propagated, by the natural Fears of some, and the Perversity of others. For my own Part I can with great Truth aver, that an Experience of full 15 Years on this Subject, and the utmost Reflection in my Power, have convinced me, that it never did, nor can impart any Disease, but the specific one that produced it; and this, among other Reasons, for the subsequent ones, which I have partly transcribed from my former Essay on this Method.

The Seeds or Principles of contagious Diseases I conceive, however impalpable, to be as distinct as the Seeds of Plants, which may be lodged in such different Soils and Climates, as will either dispose them to Luxuriance, or prevent their very Germination; tho' we cannot, by any Art or Compost, make a Pippin produce a Cabbage. The Matter of the Pock, however produced, we find sufficient, in the smallest Quantity, to convey the same Disease that effected it: and if it were to convey any other, that other ought, at the very Time, to have been united with what it does convey: for to be transfused it must exist, which the transfused Disease does. But I may be answered, that it is not supposed the Pock shall, with itself, convey the Plague, Measles, or any such acute contagious Disease, which has a distinct external Cause; but some hereditary or contracted Disorder of the Person it was taken from;

from : which would imply, in short, that you must transfuse his Constitution, his *Stamina*, in a minute Part of a Grain of his variolated and suppurated Blood; which is not only strongly improbable *prima facie*, but would prove more than the Objectors could intend; since such a Commutation might sometimes prove for the better.

Hereditary Diseases, I apprehend, do not only imply that they may be imparted, but the Expression ascertains the sole Manner in which they are, by Consanguinity or Propagation, strictly : since the same Cause, which often effects such striking Resemblances in the Features, Make, Complexion, and the very Temper, may produce a similar Conformation in the vital elaborating Organs, and in the vascular and nervous System too; the natural Consequence of which will prove a Propensity to the Diseases of the Parent. If they have been the unwelcome Legacy of the Father, we may consider them as the Consequences of an extraordinary Infusion indeed, but of a particular Fluid secreted from the vital Mass, and probably affected with its particular Qualities, but visibly homogeneous as such, nor so sensibly perverted in its Texture and Substance as Blood variolated into *Pus*; in which Case it could scarcely fulfill the Purposes of Fecundity or Vivification. And if we suppose the Disease, which is to be co-infused with the Pock, to descend from the Mother, we are to consider the Person hereditarily affected, as one partly generated from her Substance, and solely nourished by her

her Humours for many Months; a Situation, which may well be inferred to impress such a Disposition to the Disorders her Humours are propense to, as can scarcely be received afterwards from another Person. And supposing this co-infusible Disease contracted by the Person to be infused from, the Argument is similarly applicable. For the *Pus* can no longer be considered here as sincere Blood, in which a Disposition to other Distempers might possibly reside; but as a peculiar Corruption of it by the variolous Cause, in the Process of the Disease; which, if it assimilates such disposing Particles, must subdue them to its own Nature, as it incontestibly does, and in some Proportion to the evident Alteration of their Vehicle; from which Change of Consistence, Figure and Texture, their former Effect must cease; if it be as true as probable, that Bodies operate mechanically, and in Consequence of them. I judge it unnecessary to say any thing of such Diseases as are justly termed *Errores loci*; since it may be as reasonable to suppose the Infusion of a Hump-back or Dislocation, as of them. And yet such is the Rage or Whim of Opposition, that after the fantastical Objections Civility has sometimes obliged me to listen to, I should not have been extremely astonished, if some had been delicate enough to dread being inoculated from a different Sex, from apprehending a Commutation of their own, or the compounding an Hermaphrodite. Such a Reflection may be judged full ludicrous here, but it is difficult to argue

gue with a continual Gravity against some *Chimeras*.

But whatever Validity or Weakness there may be in these Reasons for our negative Solution of this Query, there are very numerous Facts to evince, that no other Indisposition is ingrafted with the Small Pox, from the transmitting Body: tho' in Justice the Asserters should establish their Affirmative on Facts (which they may safely be challenged to do) rather than leave their Antagonists to prove the Negative. This happens nevertheless to be no Difficulty; and if the confluent and malignant Small Pox have been proved, in many Instances, incapable of generating their own Degree and Mode of this Disease, it is scarcely conceivable they should transmit another essentially different. Let the following Fact suffice here, instead of some thousand which might truly be adduced.

The venereal Disease, known to be as communicable as any, has been particularly dreaded in this Respect: since doubtless its Taints are eradicable in some Constitutions, but with great Difficulty; and in a few perhaps never entirely. Now a worthy Surgeon of my Acquaintance, of great Truth and Morality, assures me, of his his own Knowledge, that a young Lady of a creditable Family was inoculated by an Apothecary, from a Gentleman's Servant in a kindly Small Pox, who had, at the same Time, a venereal *Bubo*, and other Symptoms, of which the Apothecary was wholly unconscious. The inoculated

ted Lady notwithstanding did mighty well, and to the End of many Years, which have since intervened, had not the lightest Symptom of venereal Contagion. Yet perhaps, from the subsequent Scabs, Baldness and cuticular Effects of both Diseases, which will admit of a moderate medical Parody, it is an obvious Conclusion, that no other would be more likely to be infused with the variolous Matter.

In the Heat of these medical Polemics, the ill Effects, which put an End to the Transfusion of the Blood, were also prest into the Service against Inoculation; but surely without sufficient Reason or Candour: Since in the former a large Quantity of Blood is suddenly infused to replace as much of the Patient's own; the former of which, however seemingly better qualified in itself; yet, *quoad hunc*, not having been factured and elaborated by his individual Organs, may have a *Crisis* not properly counteractive to the Tone of his Solids; unfit to correspond with the Orifices of his Strainers: and, as the Blood was sometimes infused from young esculent Quadrupeds, it might not afford the precise Quantity or Quality of the nervous Secretion, necessary to the regular Information and Oeconomy of the human Machine, whence very surprizing *Phaenomena* might arise: but here the great Disproportion and Diversity of the Fluid transfused, and that infused, are too manifest to make us expect any coincident Consequence. Inoculation had also been represented by some as analogous to admitting

ting the *Saliva* of a mad Dog into the Habit ; as if the Resemblance of a Bite injected, and an Incision infused, with a very different Liquid, were to obliterate the monstrous Disparity of their general Operation and final Event : when, if it had been rightly considered, that the morbid canine *Saliva* ever produces one and the same specific and surprizingly resembling Disease, even in the human Constitution, which is not its primary Harbinger, it must rather have precluded all Supposition, that the Insertion of the Small Pox ever communicated any Disease essentially distinct from itself.

On the other Hand Abscesses in the *Axilla*, tho' infrequent, happen oftner to the Inoculated, than after the natural Disease ; and are probably owing to the Tendency of Humours to the Ulcers ; which Ulcers have continued to discharge sometimes for several Weeks, and proved ill-conditioned and troublesome in a few Instances. Neither are we without some rare Examples, where the Sight and Beauty of an Eye has suffered from the artificial Disease. I knew two Ladies abroad, thus affected, where the youngest greatly outgrew the Weakness and Blemish. The like occurred here above a Year since, which is now visibly abated. But such incontestably happen much seldomer to the Inoculated than to others : and if we admit that the *Ratio* of such an affecting Disorder in both Ways may correspond to that of their different Mortality, we certainly admit the utmost that can be true
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against Inoculation on this Head. I knew a young Lady of a fine Complexion for this Disease, who being tired of a little Confinement under a very light Infection, after looking out of an airy Window, complained suddenly of a Pain in the *Axilla* of the inoculated side, which inflamed, and, forming a large Abscess, proved of a strumous Disposition; tho', on a Change of Air, and more compleat Puberty, she grew entirely well. She was often subject before to little Eruptions about the parotid Glands, and the Person the Pock was taken from of a remarkably pure Surface: whence it should seem here, as if either the Disease, or the sudden Check of Perspiration after it, excited the inherent strumous Disposition, which indeed was but moderate, as She continues entirely healthy since.

I shall conclude this Section with declaring, that although I have tantamount to a Conviction myself, that the variolous Matter will convey no Disease but the Small Pox; and that a well concocted *Pus* from any Mode of it, not accompanied with a Mortification of the Fluids or Solids, will operate but in Proportion to the Quantity and Quality of its Fuel in the Recipient; yet I am entirely of Opinion, that the most laudable kind of Pock, and the most unexceptionable Habit of Body, should be always carefully selected to transmit the Disease; as well from Motives of Prudence, as from a Reflection on the Shallowness of all human Science, and the Possibility of such Effects as have not hitherto supervened.

pervened. We must be very sure, the best Disease from the best Habit will not be most likely to convey the worst; and there may be an ill-judged Temerity in our extreme Opposition to such of these popular Prejudices or Mistakes, as are founded in natural Love for ourselves, or on a relative, or social Affection, for others.





SECTION VII.

Of the various Methods of artificial Infection.

THE great comparative Security and many Advantages of Inoculation being, to our Apprehension, irrefragably manifested from the preceding impartial Detail of its Consequences, we proceed to a Description of the different Methods of this simple and easy Operation.

PYLARINI informs us, the *Greek* Inoculatrix made an oblique Puncture with a Needle on the Middle and Top of the Forehead, on each Cheek, and the Chin; on each *Metacarpus* and *Metatarsus*, and dropt into each a little of the *Pus*, which she had just brought warm in her Servant's Bosom, from a young variolous Patient, sick in the natural Way, and of a good Sort. TIMONI says, the Operator is to make several little Wounds with a Needle in one, two, or more Places of the Skin, till some Drops of Blood ensue, when he is to pour a Drop of *Pus*, qualified as above, into each, and mix it well with the Blood, as it issues out. Both these Physicians are here relating the *Greek* Method, the latter recommending, from himself, the Muscles of the Arm or *Radius*; and the former judging it

it eligible to make the Punctures in the more fleshy Parts of the Body, as being less liable to Pain and Inflammation, and not interwoven with Tendons. The Wounds were covered with Bandages gently applied, and sometimes half a Walnut Shell was placed concavely over each Orifice; and it was recommended to the Patient to forbear scratching or exposing them to the Wet.

I have read some Author who says, the Wounds in the Face, Chin and Cheeks, were made in Resemblance of the Cross; and that their Number of five referred to the five Wounds of CHRIST. Now, tho' undoubtedly many of these are superfluous and all very injudiciously placed, it demonstrates these innocent well-meaning Creatures never deemed the Practice an Invasion of the divine Prerogative, but very naturally ascribed the good Effects of it to the Father of Mercies, when they enterprized it, as I may say, under the Auspices of those religious Symbols; and seeing none but a happy Issue attend it, never supposed the least physical Reason for the Method; as PYLARINI assures us, the Woman, who gave him a full and plain Account of the whole Process, was entirely ignorant of the true Cause of the Propagation of the Small Pox by Infition. It required an Imagination of more Flame, joined to an odd Perversity of Erudition, to discover, as the Rev. Mr. MASSEY did, that the Devil invented Inoculation, and poor *Job* was his first Patient: tho' perhaps our Phrase of the *Devil's*

Devil's being in the Doctor was previous to this amazing Discovery.

Mr. MAITLAND generally made an Incision in each Arm, but inoculated the six Malefactors in *Newgate* in both Arms and one Leg. It was usual with some for a considerable Time to inoculate one Arm and the Leg on the opposite Side. It is said the Ambassador from *Tripoli* here affirmed, that in *Africa* the Disease was imparted by passing a Needle and Thread, that had been conducted thro' a well matured Pustule, through the Teguments between the Thumb and Forefinger, where they may be pierced without wounding the subjacent Muscle. We are to suppose part of the infected String was secured for some Time in the Puncture.

The *Chinese* are said to have had their peculiar Method of conveying the Small Pox for a long Time past, which cannot properly be named after that Operation in Gardening, ours so greatly resembles. They convey a Pellet of variolated Cotton, with the Addition of a little Musk, into the Nostrils of the Person to be infected, and find it effectual to give the Disease. We have observed, that the Missionaries sufficiently extol the Abilities of their Physicians; but certainly no very sagacious one could devise or encourage this Practice; which seems to have no Sort of Advantage of the common Infection it so greatly resembles, except that of its admitting them to premise a proper *Regimen*, and Preparation, and to select a proper Time of Life, and Season of the

Year, for the Disease. We shall not stop here to theorize on the manifest Disadvantages of variolous Inodoration, in Respect of Incision (since it is not clear that a variolated Pill might not be swallowed as eligibly) but exemplify the Effect of it from an Experiment, which Dr. MEAD was allowed to make on one of the seven Malefactors who were to be infected by Art. This female Criminal, the youngest of them all, was about eighteen Years old; she sickened and recovered as the others did: but he informs us, the Symptoms were much feverer; that immediately from the Introduction of the Matter she was afflicted with a most excruciating Head-ach, and with a Fever that never intermitted 'till Eruption came on.

Dr. WILLIAMS informs us of another Method of Infection, practised among the common People in *Pembrokeshire, South Wales*, as he says, for Time immemorial, which may be called the * Infriktion of the Small Pox. Some of the dry Pustules are to be procured, by Purchase it seems,

* Mr. *Wright* of *Haverfordwest* observes, in his Letter of February 15, 1722, on this curious Subject, to Mr. *Bevan*, of *London*, that there are two large Villages near *Milford Harbour*, *St. Ishmael's* and *Marloes*, the old Inhabitants of which say, it has been a Practice with them Time out of Mind; and that particularly one *William Allen* of the former, then 90 Years old, declared to very creditable Persons, that this Practice was used all his Time; and that he well remembered his Mother's telling him it was so in hers, and that she procured the Small Pox that way herself.— This may be reasonably presumed to make that Practice of 150 Years standing there, reckoning from this Year 1753 backwards; but how much older it may have been there, or whether the *Circassians* had their Method earlier, is impossible, perhaps, to determine.

seems, and rubbed hard upon the naked Arm or Leg, the Event of which is said to be as effectual, and successful, as that of Inoculation. Now supposing no variolous Steam or Odour to enter by the Mouth or Nostrils during Infriktion, this Sort of Infection will be very similar to that, which is accidentally imbibed by the superficial inhaling and inforbing Vessels; and which probably does not occur as often as that by the Breath or Smell. This Device however, some medical Gentlemen, who imagine the Surgeons, perhaps, sufficiently attentive to, and successful in, a Monopoly of Inoculation, have mentioned as worthy of reviving; notwithstanding this still leaves it a Work of the Hand, but such indeed as any Hand may perform. Were we to admit here (which seems barely possible, and is yet the utmost that can be contended for) that the Infriktion of this Poison, through the Surface of any Limb, may dispose to a greater Derivation of its Consequences there; yet as there is no palpable Ulcer or Outlet, which seems a most material Circumstance; and as our Purpose is to regard the Health and Interest of the whole Community, or rather of the whole Species, without Respect to, or Resentment of, the distinct Emolument of any particular Society, we cannot consistently consider this Infriktion as salutarily equivalent to Inoculation.

DIEMER-BROECK (1) and (2) HODGES, who bravely devoted themselves to all the reiterated Hazards of the Plague for the Service of their different Coun-

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(1) *De Peste*. P. 150, 151, 357. (2) *Loimolog*. P. 240, 241.

Countries, agree, that Issues were found the most effectual Prophylacteries from that Contagion; and that after manifest Symptoms of its Reception, they often discharged a thin, bloody, or even blackish Matter, to the Preservation of the Patient. It is surely then no unjust Inference to argue, that Incisions, rendered ulcerous by the variolous Contagion, may prove full as attractive of the similar Principle, which has been transmitted thro' them to the Blood: We shall conclude this Clause of variolous Infraction by observing, that Mr. Owen's was something more, as he rubbed the Back of his Hand with the Back of a Penknife, 'till some little Excoriation or Soreness ensued, before he applied the Scab. This was certainly inoculating the Disease, tho' coarsely, as well as their pricking the Skin with Pins dipped in the Matter; which others of them did.

Having just mentioned the prophylactic Use of Issues, even in the Plague, may we not seasonably suggest the possible Benefit of them to such Adults as dread the Small Pox in every Shape, and yet are obliged to reside, or come, within the Sphere of its Infection? And should they finally resolve on Inoculation, may not the Infection of such an Outlet, as the Humours had been for some Time derived to, promise well for a more liberal Discharge than a recent Incision? That the Lymph may be infected here rather before the red Globules, does not seem to be any exasperating Circumstance: And that old
Issues

Issues will effectually transmit the Contagion to the Blood I have repeatedly, but never unhappily, * experienced. But with Regard to former Issues, applied for other Purposes, we are to consider well, whether the Disorder they were applied for is removed, and how far it may be revived by this Disease, or its Cause be likely to co-operate with the Infection. But to return to the Operation.

As it was experienced that the crural Incisions, especially in gross Habits, were more difficult to heal and cicatrize than those in the Arms, the former are now pretty generally disused; and in the main justly enough. Serjeant RANBY disapproves them, from the Inflammations that are generally consequent of them; and doubtless there ought to be some better Reason for inflicting a tedious Ulcer on the Patient, than the consequent Protraction of his Surgeon's Attendance. And yet I have imagined, that a reflecting Physician may sometimes incline to an Incision in the Leg, where the Patient's Age and Habit, Complexion and Teguments, made him apprehensive of a plentiful Fuel. Such a topical Ulcer or two, in such a Patient, might certainly prove troublesome after the Disease; but every other Indication must

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* Since the writing this, a Correspondent from *Southampton* informs me, that Infection by Issues was the late general Practice in *Blandford, Dorsetshire*, where they did not lose above one in 400 of the Inoculated. It may sufficiently obviate Dr. *Fuller's* Misapprehension concerning them in Scenes of variolous Infection; he was for drying old ones up, if it might be conveniently done, supposing they might let in variolous Matter without manual Application,

give Place to one truly vital: and wherever a copious Assimilation is expected, every Precaution must be used to solicit its entire external Discharge, and all possible Diversion of it from the Face too: since if the external *Carotid*, which is ramified over that and the Scalp, transmits a considerable Quantity of the variolated Blood to the Surface of the Head, it is to be feared the internal *Carotid*, springing from the same Trunk, and going to the Brain, and its *Meninges*, may be, in some corresponding Proportion, loaded with it. Now if the Stimulation at the Incisions have the derivatory Consequences, all Writers on this Subject have allowed; which (abstracted from Preparation, &c.) is probably the critical Advantage and very Hinge of Inoculation, a stronger Revulsion from the Head may be expected from these crural Ulcers; since the descending Branches of the *Aorta*, as the *Iliacs*, and their Divisions again, will probably from hence be charged with a greater Proportion of the variolated Blood, to the Ease of the *Carotids* and *Vertebrals*, which can certainly be attended with no bad Consequence. A greater Suppuration from these depending Issues, on the Maturation of the Pustules, will be another salutary Consequence; as that has been supposed, by some, one preventing Cause of the secondary Fever, which so seldom occurs by Inoculation, and whose Absence is so essential an Advantage of it. But after all, we apprehend it will seldom be necessary to inflict these Incisions in the Legs, which
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in some Habits may be attended with very tedious and disagreeable Consequences.

It may be useful here to consider, why the Character and Degree of the Small Pox should be estimated from their Quantity and Appearance in the Face, which SYDENHAM observes, and Experience has confirmed, it is right to do ; tho' I cannot recollect that any Writer has explained the *Rationale* of it. This, however, a very unstrained Extension of the Analogy between the Distemper and vinous Fermentation will conduct us, I had almost said, to a certain Discovery of. For as the febrile State of the Blood in the *Apparatus* corresponded as strictly with vinous Fermentation, as was possible between a vital and a vegetable Fluid ; so Eruption as closely answers to the Distillation recurred to, after a certain Term and Degree of Fermentation, for separating the more active, sulphurous, and inflaming Particles of the Liquor from the more phlegmatic and weak. Now the volatilizing Operation of Heat, one of the most grand and efficient Processes in Nature, consists in such a Subtilization of the Particles of its Subject, as renders them lighter than our common *Medium*, thro' which they then necessarily ascend with different Velocities. Hence, as what first rises in the Alembic, and, after Condensation, runs from the Worm, is so flagrant, that it must prove deleterious in a very few Ounces alone ; so in Eruption, the Pustules that appear first, and very generally about the Face and Neck, pretty certainly contain the most

most inflamed and volatilized Principles of the Blood : and if the augmented variolous Poison is, as some have imagined, also exalted in the Habit, it seems likely, that its most energetic Particles will be attached to such Principles. Hence a copious, quick and fiery Eruption in the Face will too certainly indicate an exquisite and fatal Dissolution of the vital Consistence of the Blood. Thus the learned HALLER justly observes, the most volatile and active *Miasmata* break out in the Face. The whole Passage well deserves a * Reference : And in a late Disorder of my own, which terminated in a liberal *Diaphoresis*, I experienced the Certainty of it. Perhaps it is difficult to assign a better Reason than this for the Pits and Scars of the Face by this Distemper, while the rest of the Body is very generally unmarked. But if the Eruptions are distinct, gradual, and mildly complexioned there, we have little Reason to apprehend, that the latter Runnings on the Trunk and Limbs, tho' numerous, will be pregnant with more virose Contents : since it has been manifest from the different Symptoms and Event of the Disease, in Patients under equal Eruption, that the *Pabulum* may be nearly of the same Quantity in two Habits, yet naturally, and sometimes from Accident, less acrid in one than the other. But that

* Validas hinc particulas, et motus sui tenaces, caput adire non improbabile. Nonne id demonstrat argenti vivi effectus in solo fere capite ? spirituum inebriantium velox in caput potentia ? camphorae vis stuporem brevem excitans ? calor faciei et sudor frequentior quam in ulla parte corporis, miasmatum summe volatilitium in facie eruptio ? — *Prim. lin. Physiol.* § 339.

that the most acrid are very generally first emitted in all is evident in Fact, from the frequent Remission of the Fever, and most of the Symptoms, on the first Day of Eruption, and not seldom, in a mild Disease, within a very few * Hours after its Appearance. Where we are pretty certain of Eruption then, does not this suggest a temperate and diluting *Regimen* in the *Apparatus*, and no such Intension of the morbid Heat, as may augment its depredatory Operation? That we are to avoid direct and palpable Refrigeration, in most variolous Cases, is from another Motive, *viz.* that the assimilated Particles should meet with no Obstruction in their Expulsion to the Surface, after they have remained for their ordinary Term within; lest, at so critical a Juncture, their mortal Retrocession should be the Consequence. Moreover, besides the greater Virofity of the earliest Eruptions, their very Situation may be a perilous Circumstance; since on a sudden Sinking of the Pox, a premature Detumescence of the Face, or
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* I have seen a late remarkable Instance of this by Inoculation. Miss FREEMAN was affected in the *Apparatus* with a considerable Propensity to Vomiting, and had a quick febrile Pulse. Visiting her the tenth Morning from Inoculation, her Pulse was calm and all her Symptoms vanished; whence I concluded, tho' it did not visibly present itself, there must have been some Eruption; and, upon a closer Inspection, discovered two Pustules. She might have about 50 in all, but not a Moment's Sickness after these. Nor is it difficult to conceive, that even before actual Eruption, whenever all the infected Particles are so far extruded into the Ducts, that terminate in the Surface, that they cannot retrocede into the reflux Veins (to be secreted by any of the visceral Glands, or glandular Texture of the Brain) all internal Sickness must cease. This Period may be called the Term of Extrication, to which Eruption speedily succeeds.

an insufficient Suppuration there, a more sudden *Metastasis* of the Poison on the vital Nerves may be apprehended. Hence if we could, where Bleeding is indicated in the *Apparatus*, by instituting it in the Foot, and by tepid Bathings and gentle Frictions of the lower Extremities, invite some Portion of the earlier Eruption from the Head, it might be compassing a very salutary Point, which I sincerely think I have seen effected; and which appears to me so essential a Point of Practice, that I hope my Attention to the *Rationale* of it will expiate this Digression from the immediate Subject of this Section.

From an Observation of the Benefits of a free Discharge, our most experienced Inoculators probably extended their Incisions to the Length of an Inch, which Mr. RANBY advises. Whether it were from the same Reflection that they inoculated both Arms, or with a View of making the Scratch appear doubly operose, I cannot determine. Dr. BUTINI, in his late *Traité de la petite verole*, seems to doubt, whether two Incisions may not produce some Confusion in the Habit, and be attended with a less compleat Discharge than one. Experience however has furnished very numerous Proofs of a sufficient Discharge ensuing from two Incisions, and as gentle a Distemper as could have attended one: yet possibly there may be some Reason for not making two indiscriminately. The most alarming Subjects, I confess, would dispose me most to two Ulcerations: but
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in Subjects, where a moderate Assimilation might reasonably be expected, one may be sufficient; and in very young ones a smaller Orifice might answer as well. They are generally disposed to spread and dilate in the Course of the Disease, which is no bad Hint of their Service. The Incisions may be made with very little Pain. I have seen a Girl about three Years old scarcely wince for one; but have heard that a few, who were apt to be convulsed almost at the Sight of a Lancet, and could not be cheated into an Incision, have had a slight Vesication or two raised by a little *Cantharides*, or Epispastic, applied within the Slit of a closely adhesive Plaster, and the *Pus* was applied after cutting and removing the Cuticle and Slough. This is considerably more painful, but there is little Fear of the Insect counter-working the Infection, nor of its disposing to a more indolent Ulcer.

I must not omit here, that as the *Greek Woman* made her Scratches somewhat oblique, Mr. BOYLSTON of *New England* made them quite transverse, and I have seen one such Orifice in *London*. What the Operators proposed by this, or whether they considered it merely as indifferent, they can only say. Possibly they concluded such an Incision might be disposed, of itself, to a more fretful and inflammatory State, and thence terminate in a more derivatory Ulcer than that from a longitudinal one; and, if this were not the Reason, it is difficult perhaps to assign a better. But we may observe here, that as the
Lips

Lips of such an Orifice would be apt to retrocede more than the other, and that Bandage would not dispose them to Contact, their Retortion would be less significant of the Infection's having taken, than it is in the other; which is equally applicable to their Inflammation too. And notwithstanding there can be little doubt of Infections succeeding this Way, as BOYLSTON's Patients very generally took (tho' it could not be said that one certain Pustule ensued from this transverse Incision in a Child of six Weeks here) yet those, who are uneasy about the ulcerous State of the Incisions after the Disease, may well incline to prefer the longitudinal ones; the present general Practice.

With Regard to the Depth of the Incisions (which are made over the Contiguity of the *Biceps* and *Brachii internus* as commodiously as any where; and on the Place for Issues in the Legs) TIMONI says, the Skin is to be ript up a little transversely. PYLARINI says, the Women separated the Skin a little from the Flesh: this seems as if they went thro' the *Cutis*. Dr. NETTLETON, who lays little Stress on the Length of the Incisions, thinks if they are so deep as to cut thro' the Skin in the middle of the Incision, they discharge the more. I do not find that our first Operator, MAITLAND, says any thing of their Depth. Some eminent Surgeons at present seem to make a Point of cutting into, but not thro', the *Cutis*, so as to expose the cellular Membrane. And this it is said they do to prevent

vent the Sloughs, that separate frequently when that Membrane is laid bare; and which, they suppose, render the Ulcer less tractable after the Disease. Such Incisions I have seen, where the Infection has been effectually communicated, but imagined that, in general, they afforded a smaller Discharge, than those which but just expose the adipose Membrane, by dividing the *Cutis*; very few of which I have ever known unkindly after the Termination of the Disease, and the customary Purges. Besides, if Dr. GRASHUIS is right in concluding this Membrane the Seat, and the *Adeps*, in a great Measure, the Subject of Suppuration, it will be no bad medical Reason for reaching it. But undoubtedly the least membranous or fleshy Fibre of a Muscle should be carefully avoided, as the stimulating Matter, admitted there, might erode the *Aponeurosis* and Substance of the Muscles, and produce a troublesome sinuous Ulcer. This was very probably the Case of a young Gentleman near *Maidstone* in *Kent*, who, with a favourable Small Pox by Inoculation, had an Arm so terribly ulcerated, that an Amputation was apprehended, tho' at last it proved unnecessary. And besides the Hazard of such a Consequence, we have already hinted the Imprudence of infusing the *Pus* immediately into any larger Vessel, whence it might be less gradually diffused thro' the Mass. The *English*, who may justly be considered as the Improvers or Reformers of this Operation, have rendered it much simpler, and less painful and tedious than it was

was in *Turkey*. They find no Occasion for mixing the *Pus* operosely with the issuing Blood; if the smallest Appearance of the latter stain the Skin, they experience their effectual Commixture almost a perpetual Consequence. The Threads, whether of Flax, Cotton or Silk (tho' the two former are chiefly used with us) may be conveniently imbued by threading a Needle, edged or even round, with one not too fine, and doubling it. This Needle is to be passed thro' two or three well digested Pustules; tho' I have sometimes obtained Matter enough from one, very ripe and turgid, to infect two or three Subjects. A Length of such Threads equal to that of the Incisions is to be inserted into each. Over these the Inoculator applies a small Pledget, armed with a Digestive, and on this again a small Plaister. Mr. RANBY uses and recommends the most simple one that will adhere sufficiently. An easy Roller may be applied for a Security to the Dressings, tho' I have known the Plaister retain the Matter effectually. Some let these remain on, one, and others two, Days; the Gentleman just cited says about forty Hours, but we shall find a *plus minus* here immaterial.

From an abundant Caution, which I have always observed, the Patient is directed to keep an Handkerchief over his Nose and Mouth, 'till it is applied. The *Greek* Inoculatrix had the Matter brought, and, we are to suppose, taken, by her Servant; and some have been said since to use the same Precaution; lest, if the Person,
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who infuses the Matter, had also taken it, just before, which they thought essential, there might be some Danger of his giving the natural Infection previous to the artificial. There can surely be no Error in great Caution on such important Occasions; and it was certainly thoughtless in the Father of the *Tripolitan* Ambassador to send his Children to be inoculated at the House of the Infected; lest the Matter should cool perhaps. But we must observe, that our reserving the Contagion in Threads (which we shall prove, may be suffered to dry too) instead of taking it in Shells and Phials as they did, and pouring out Drops of it, is not near so likely to diffuse natural Contagion. Besides, a Quantity of it kept in a liquid Form may putrefy, as most extravasated animal Humours do; when it may be doubted, whether it will give the Small Pox, and whether it may not give something worse: as we see the Humours of an Egg rendered so acrid by Putrefaction, as to become violently emetic, and it has been said deleteriously so, on swallowing a very small Quantity; and what it might do, on being infused into the Blood, we can only surmise.

These Drops naturally lead me to consider the necessary Quantity, or Dose, of Infection; and the rather, as some of the early Opposers of Inoculation, and particularly Dr. WAGSTAFFE, have insisted on the Uncertainty of the Dose of variolous Pus, requisite to different Ages and Constitutions, as a material Objection to the Practice. But these Objectors would have been

prudent in reflecting previously, how they could ascertain a proper Dose of the natural Contagion, or determine the Quantities received by different infectious Accidents : since this Objection makes very strongly for Inoculation, if the *Quantum* of Infection be truly material, as the artificial may admit of a pretty exact Ascertainment, the natural of none.

We are happy enough however, in the equal Success of very different Doses of this *Pus*, to be convinced that this is not the capital, the most interesting, Circumstance relating to the Operation. A single Spark will explode a Magazine, and a Bonfire can do no more. The *Greeks*' numerous Drops and Incisions, and *Maitland*'s three largely imbued Pledgets on each Malefactor, terminated successfully ; and very much less has sometimes excited a very considerable, and even a mortal, Disease. However, as the Application of more than is necessary is at least indelicate, let us contemplate, if we can, that Exility of Infection which has sometimes sufficed. The worthy and ingenious Dr. NETTLETON, who interested himself early in this Practice, from a benevolent Principle, informs us, that having found it troublesome to collect such a Quantity of the Matter, as to infuse two or three Drops of it into each Wound, of which he made three, he secured a small Pledget of infected Cotton on the Wound. We may suppose he was not long solicitous about the Moisture of his Pledgets, when he avers his Surprise, that the Quantity of
Pus

Pus received into the Vessels could not amount to the hundredth Part of a Grain: from whence we may moderately conclude, the Dose used at *Constantinople* sufficient to infect above a hundred; and if we suppose the Weight of a full Drop of this *Pus* to be near a Grain, it will make it sufficient for many hundreds. But further, the extreme Exility of the Particles of operatively infecting Matter will be so evanescent and inconceivable, as scarcely to allow the Imaginations' investing it with a material Form. For in Fact I have known such a scarcely discernible Particle of *Pus* infect, that I never heard of a Balance exquisite enough to ascertain such a Fraction of a Grain as it must have been: and if we reflect, that this was but the Vehicle of Infection, our Astonishment must still be heightened. Yet as some of the variolous *Pus*, or the *Miasmata* involved in it, must be immitted, tho' in a minute Quantity, to infect, it is evident that the infecting Threads may be passed thro' one or more ripe Pustules, that they may be cut into any requisite Lengths, and be of what Number or Thickness we chuse. It is possible perhaps to weigh a pretty long or thick Thread, while yet uninfected, and after it has been imbued, which may be cut, either while moist, or after it is dry again, into such imponderable Lengths of one Inch or less, that Infection may really be divided into very minute Fractions of a Grain; and then dosed out, not only to different Ages, but to our Apprehensions of the Quantity of inherent

Fuel; since it may seem eligible, to some, to apply the smallest Proportion of the former to the greatest of this; and to distribute it into two Incisions, for the Purposes of a double Stimulation and Discharge. This is certainly the best Reason for making two, and not the Apprehension of a single one failing; since if there be Fuel in the Habit, and the Spark is applied to it, one will take, and if there is none, two will be ineffectual. But after all, as some Few have failed of Infection, where there has been Reason to suspect an over-acted and simpering Delicacy in a very superficial Scratch, and the Application of the very smallest Quantity possible of Matter: and as such Disappointments are productive of considerable Anxiety, to the Patient at least, good Sense will sufficiently instruct every one who has reflected on this Subject, that if the Incision is not so deep as to violate or expose any Fibre of a Muscle or of its Membrane, an extreme Solitude about its being more superficial is unnecessary: and further, that tho' a very small Quantity of the *Pus*, if insinuated, will infect, yet a little more is not likely to have any accumulative Effect; in short, that the present Constitution and Temperament of the Recipient is the grand affecting Circumstance.

But whatever be the requisite Quantity of this Infection, it may be asked how long its *Medium*, or Vehicle, should remain within the Wounds. TIMONI says they were to be covered a few Hours, to prevent the Cloaths from rubbing off the Matter.

ter. PYLARINI says a Bandage was applied, but does not add how long it remained before it was first removed. We have just observed that some let the infected Threads or Lint lie on 48 Hours; others 24, after which some have turned the external Part of the Lint to the Bottom of the Orifice; and all have found the Consequences without any sensible Variation. But that the Principles of Infection are as speedily absorbed in this palpable Vehicle, as they are inspired in their aerial one, and perhaps strongly attracted into some recipient Bodies, seems probable from Dr. NETTLETON's informing us, that he has sometimes rubbed the Pledget only once over the Wound, without binding it on, and found the Purpose sufficiently answered. Serjeant RANBY, who has been long and very successfully engaged in this Practice, to the Benefit of great Numbers of high Condition and Consequence, and to whom I have numerous Obligations upon this Subject, and many other Occasions, has favoured me with the following Fact on this Point.

Having inoculated a Widow Lady of 30, and calling next Day to remove the Dressings, she asked his Opinion, whether the Pock had taken; and, being answered in the affirmative, appeared satisfied, and past thro' the ensuing Disease very favourably. But on her entire Recovery, and discharging all her medical Attendants, she informed them, that in a very little Time after the Operation she repented of it, and removing the infected Threads soon after Mr. RANBY's

Departure, put in common ones, and applied the former Dressings over them. It seems indeed that we may reasonably extend what we said on the Quantity of Infection, to the Term of its Application too, *viz.* that a short Contact will probably be sufficient, and a longer but equivalent: which double Position may be similarly verified by a late Instance of my own Knowledge. The learned Dr. MATY, Author of the *Journal Britannique*, doing me the Favour of accepting a few Visits to his three Children, before and after Inoculation, which Dr. D'ARGENT, then practising Surgery, performed, in one Arm each; on removing the Dressings, there was some Doubt, whether the Youngest, of near three Years old, had taken, as her Arm was less inflamed than her Brother's or Sister's; tho' I remember I judged it had. It was agreed however to procure a little more Pock, which was applied one or two Days after; notwithstanding the Inflammation then became a little more evident. She sickened no sooner than the others, having the mildest Symptoms and smallest Eruption of the three. Here a second Dose, which made the Application twice as long, was not attended with the least accumulative Effect; and the smaller Inflammation, as all the Incisions were superficial and pretty equal, was certainly owing to the tender Subject's containing the least variolous Fuel.

It is curious to investigate, and may be useful to discover, the utmost Term for which the variolous *Primordia* may be preserved in any Material,

terial, with sufficient Energy to effectuate this Operation. For tho' it may be always recently procurable here, more or less, that is not the Case in Country Towns, Villages or Seats, where People might desire the Operation for themselves or their Friends, and yet be unwilling to go for it, where the Disease actually existed. Here it should be observed with Gratitude, that Providence seems to have regarded even the Circumstances of Individuals so situated and disposed: as we have certain Demonstration that the *Pus*, however dry, and very probably even when friable, in Threads or Lint, retains an efficacious Vigour for several Weeks; for a Term sufficient to convey it a few thousand Miles at least, tho' we are as yet unacquainted with the exact Commencement of its Inactivity. Materials containing the Cause of the Plague have been considered as incommunicative of it after a Twelvemonth; but I conceive this to be on a Supposition, that the infected Materials were not packed up close, which may make an important Difference: since Air itself, however pure and simple, from very long Confinement and Stagnation, has become putrid and morbid. But let us suppose the Efficacy of the variolous Vapour to be preserved as long by Care, as it is without it, and sometimes is, in Spight of our Carefulness to extinguish it. This will extend it to several Months. I knew one Instance of a Gentleman being infected on entering a Room, full three Months after a Person had lain there in the Disease. A Surgeon of my Acquaintance ef-

fectually inoculated two Children of a Gentleman's at *Endfield*, with Pock taken to my Knowledge from a Child inoculated in *London* a full Month before. A Woman is said to have been unwarily inoculated at *Lindfield*, by being bled with a Lancet used in taking Pock nine Days before. I have used it frequently several Days after taking, and found its Operation always commence about the ordinary Term, and in the common Way. Finally Dr. BUTINI affirms, it has been kept effectually at *Geneva*, where Inoculation is now happily introduced, full four Months: and it may perhaps appear hereafter to keep for a longer Term, which some Gentlemen have imagined might conduce to its milder Operation; tho' this seems rather conjectured, than established on adequate and specific Facts. We have sufficiently evinced, however, the superfluous Care of conveying it immediately from the Decumbent to the Expectant, and of keeping it warm during the short Interval: as we continually find the *Pus* from Inoculation, which the *Greeks* rejected for this Operation, just equivalent to that from the natural Disease. But on this Occasion, as on most others, we prove the Truth of the Axiom, *Artem experientia fecit*.

The earliest Intimation of the Pock's taking seems to be a little Itching at, or about, the Orifice: and upon uncovering it a Day or two after, there is often a little Matter on the Dressings, and a sensible receding of the Lips of the Wound, with a small Redness on each or either. Soon

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after there appears a kind of white skin-like Line, or dry Slough, longitudinally in, or rather over, the Orifice, which is considered as an infallible Mark of Infection. Serjeant AMYAND was for fixing this Appearance to the fifth Day, which seems to be Mr. RANBY's Opinion too; and yet I think it has sometimes appeared earlier. I have known some the second or third Day sensible of a Tingling, as they called it, down to the Fingers of the inoculated Arm: and I remember a rugged Youth of Fourteen, who had, on the third, such a sudden strong Tug, or Contraction of the inoculated Arm, that he gave an instantaneous Spring from the Force and Surprise of it; and from his Relation of it I could compare it to nothing so much as the electrical Shock. This Lad, who was bound to the Sea, but prepared on Shore, and, as we thought, under a proper *Regimen*, used to regale himself secretly, even after the Operation, with Slices of salt Beef he had the Art to procure from on Board. He had indeed a very large Crop of the distinct Kind, with the most plentiful Suppuration I ever saw by Inoculation; yet was very soon as alert as ever, his many Pits being very superficial, and without the least Scar or Deformity. But where the Pock does not infect, there is an Absence of all these Appearances and Effects, of which I have seen a few Instances, that have been more particularly mentioned in another Place.

I must not close this Section, without an Apology to the worthy and useful Profession
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of Surgeons, many Individuals of whom I sincerely esteem, for my attempting to describe, who am no Surgeon, the different Modes of an Operation which is strictly their Province. It will be no slight one I presume, to aver, that I have repeatedly perused, and considerably transcribed Serjeant RANBY's Account of his own Method, in the Course of this Section. Besides, as a principal Purpose of this Treatise is to extend the Benefit of Inoculation as far as may be; and to guard against every Consequence of Ignorance, Thoughtlessness, or Temerity, that already has, or may hereafter discredit and obstruct it, by fortifying vulgar Prejudices, I can have little Doubt of the Pardon of all Philanthropists of every Profession: since it is hoped it will appear, from the general Drift of these Papers, that the Writer is incapable of not preferring the public Health and Welfare, to any personal Emolument, not justly connected with it.





SECTION VIII.

Of the most eligible Time of Life, and Season of the Year, for Inoculation; and the most proper and improper Subjects of it.

AS we may frequently observe, that, in the Deduction or *Analysis* of a System founded on Reason, and verified by Experience, after the Illustration of a few fundamental Principles, an intelligent Reader anticipates many subordinate Points, as necessary Consequences of them; thus, from what has been premised of the Nature of the external variolous Cause, of its *Fomes* in the human Constitution, and of that inflammatory Disease, that results from their Combination, every attentive Reader, methinks, would rationally infer (even supposing Experience to have been silent in the Case) that early Youth, and a bland Temperature of the Air, remote from either Excess of Heat or Cold, were Circumstances we should desire in the Contingence of this Disease, and consequently in the Communication of it. Yet obvious as this appears, to be
rather

rather culpably redundant than defective on the important Subject professedly treated of, we shall enquire into the Advantages and Disadvantages of the different Stages of Life, and of the different Seasons of the Year, for the Reception of, and all future Immunity from, this Distemper.

One considerable, and almost peculiar, Advantage of Childhood, or even of Infancy, for the Small Pox is, that they cannot be supposed to have superadded any adventitious variolous *Fomes* to their native Portion of it. Whether this were the prevailing Consideration, that has determined some to recommend Inoculation to Infants at the Breast, and even in the very early Months, I am unable to say; tho' perhaps it were difficult to assign a better. And yet such is our great Diversity of this inborn *Pabulum*, that I have known an Infant of six Weeks die under such a crowded Coherence, from natural Infection, that I was surprized to find, in a Subject of that Age, a sufficient Mass of Humours, and sufficiently fermentable, for so great an Eruption and Despumation; which very much exceeded that of all her five Brothers and Sisters, who were happily and easily conducted thro' Inoculation, about the same Season. An Instance considerably paralell to this occurred in the Family of GEORGE TASH, Esq; of *Ivor* in *Bucks*. The eldest of his six Daughters was married to CHRISTOPHER TOWERS, Esq; and took the natural Disease, of which she was very full, and, with great Difficulty, emerged thro' it. Her five Sisters, from
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seventeen to seven were inoculated by their Kinsman Mr. HARRIOT, with whom I had the Pleasure of attending them. The Distemper was entirely mild and easy, tho' certain and evident: and their Nurses declared they could not make out above 150 Pustules among them all.* In this Instance indeed, invertedly to the former, the

* This amazing Difference of the Small Pox by natural and artificial Infection, in Persons of the nearest Consanguinity (some entire Families having been obnoxious to the confluent, and others only to the distinct Sort) has inclined me to hesitate, whether the best Preparation and fittest Temperature of the Season could be solely adequate to the Efficiency of it. It is evident the Circumstance of Age was but little material here, the youngest out of twelve dying; the most advanced, who could not have a greater Eruption in Proportion to her Size, just escaping; and either of them certainly having more than the ten inoculated whom I attended. As I am unable then to investigate all the Causes of this surprising Difference in Persons thus related, to my own Satisfaction (the Discharge by the Incisions being very seldom considerable before Eruption) I would recommend it to the Penetration of others to discover, whether the infused *Pus* may gradually effect such an Alteration in the Form and Consistence of the Blood, and from thence such a different Oscillation of the Solids, before actual Sickening, as shall concur to increase the Excretions of Perspiration and Urine, with or without a Variation of the Matter excreted, from that in an uninfected State. Any Alteration in the Quality of the former might too probably be undiscoverable by the human Organs, or even by Experiments; tho' the Urine, from 24 Hours after the Infusion, might be considered by a Physician, who for this Purpose had observed it repeatedly before Infection, while the Patient lived exactly in the same Manner. But the Quantities of each might be ascertained by medical Statics, and compared with those before Infection: and if there was a certain Increase of each, or even of either after it, while the other kept up to its usual Standard, it must plainly point to such a gradual Abatement and Discharge of the variolous Fuel, as would correspond to the comparatively small Eruption of the Inoculated; whose subsequent Security infers that Infection assimilates all it finds: but what becomes of that, which does neither appear nor remain

the greatest *Pabulum* was the oldest too : and yet again the second Sister, the eldest of the inoculated Ladies, had the very slightest Eruption.

It seems reasonable however to conclude, in general, that our Fluids are seldom better adapted for this Infection than in our healthy Infancy and Childhood, before we meddle with solid alcalescent Food. Nor has the bland fostering Warmth of Infants an equal Tendency to exalt and volatilize the animal Humours, with the Heat that predominates at Puberty, and the Approaches to it; as the Fætor of their Urine and Fæces is manifestly less, from a smaller Proportion of sulphureous and saline Particles. It is highly probable too, that during this Term, there is a smaller Proportion of red Globules in the tender Mass; such a Circumstance being likely to correspond better with the Tone of their Arteries, and the Circulation through their minutest Canals. Now in these Globules we have supposed the humoral *Pabulum* especially to reside; and their comparative Paucity in Respect of the serous ones, if we credit the experienced FULLER, disposes to a less inflammatory and hectic State. In

remain, is the Difficulty. Yet as Experience demonstrates, that the Pits in the Face from Inoculation are not so deep as from the natural Disease, and never rise to the Deformity of a Scar, may we surmise that the former, before actual sickening, dissipates, and expels, by some of the finest Emunctories, the most volatilized and energetic Part of this inherent Fuel? And will the erratic Flushings that present and disappear, and the slight Giddiness, Lassitude, and little sickish Fits that sometimes occur and entirely vanish again, before the real *Apparatus*, reflect some Probability on such a Conjecture?

In the healthiest Infants, through the very early Months, it is wholly unusual to see ruddy Cheeks; which must be either owing to such a greater Density of the Teguments there, as prevents their Appearance, or to the serous Globules as yet chiefly circulating thro' those fine capillary, superficial Canals, which are afterwards sufficiently dilated to admit the larger red ones: the present Confinement of which to the larger Vessels, chiefly, must infer their smaller Proportion. HOMBERG besides observes the Blood of young Animals to be more acid than that of Adults; and in Fact we find the Fluid separated from it in the Stomach of a Calf manifestly acid, which is often the Case with Infants also; to which they owe those Gripes and curdly Stools, that are pretty commonly relieved by the alcalious Absorbents. Now such a *Crafsis* of the Fluids seems strongly contrasted to the intensely bilious one, which we conceive as very badly disposed for the Small Pox: and indeed the predominant Acid may be considered as having a similar Analogy with the cooling Element, to that which the calefcent inflammable *Diathefis* has with Fire; and so may be supposed restrictive of that high Effervescence and Fusion, that precede and accompany the severest Degrees of this Distemper.

A further, and perhaps, not the least Advantage of Childhood for this Malady is, their having no Idea, and of Consequence, no Dread of it; which there is often much Reason to apprehend

hend has conduced to its Fatality in Adults. It may be observed too, that the Inaction of Children, before they run about, prevents any Exaltation of the inflammable Principles of the Blood, through excessive Motion or Exercise. And if we add to this their great Proportion of natural Sleep, in Respect to that of Adults, which may not be unserviceable in a Disease, wherein Sleep procured by Art has been found so beneficial, perhaps we have enumerated all the Advantages, and no very inconsiderable ones, which Infancy has with Regard to the Small Pox.

Yet as it certainly has its Disadvantages too, we must admit first, that the natural Strength, or *vis vitae*, is very languid in such tender Subjects; and that supposing their little Mass pregnant with a considerable Proportion of the variolous Fuel, which will be less easy to discover in meer Infancy, it may require a greater Exertion *ab intra*, in order to a compleat Expulsion of the variolated Blood, than can always be expected from the feebler Contraction of their little Hearts, and the probably smaller Elasticity of their Arteries. This is countenanced by Experience, as a great Proportion of those Few who die of the natural Contagion, before its first *Crisis*, Eruption, are Infants, or very young Children, a small Proportion indeed of Adults miscarrying for Want of it. And this was the very Case of the Child of ten Months old, who failed under Inoculation, and whom I have already mentioned, as the sole Instance of my ill Success in it, my
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single Suffrage having been for deferring the Operation. In Reality we find the Pulse of Infants very generally quick and small, which commonly occurs in the last Scenes of most Diseases in all Ages; as tho' the early Efforts to live, and Approaches to dying, consisted in a similar *Languor* of the vital Motion; and Nature endeavoured, in both, to compensate for the Infirmity of the *Systole* by the Frequency of it. The Cause of this may be, that the Ventricles of their Hearts not being contracted with sufficient Force, for a compleat Expulsion of all the reflux Blood, they have not, so discernibly, that short, yet sensible, Pause between the *Systole* and *Diastole*, which occurs in a more vegete Term of Life; and which is termed by BARTHOLINE, and others after him, the *Perisystole*. Besides which, a greater Facility, and Perfection, of the vital Motions may be contracted from their very Continuance and Reiteration; the Strength and State of the Organs improving at the same Time from their Accretion and Exercise, which may be termed, perhaps, the Experience of the Constitution, or vital Oeconomy.

Furthermore, as we have a manifest vegetative Principle inherent in our Fabric, I have sometimes indulged a Supposition, that besides its general Operation to our Stature and Enlargement, by an Extension of the original Parts, throughout the Term of Accretion, there may be a more peculiar Exertion of it a little after the Birth, in a further Number of carnous, vascular and ner-

vous Fibrils ; which might be involved in the foetal ones, as the early Rudiments of some Plants visibly are in their Seeds, but which were not extruded or explained in the *Uterus*. It sometimes seems to me, as if Children did not positively see for some small Term after the Birth, tho' their Eyes are not closed ; but whether the *Velum Pupillae* be always effectually removed before that great *Crisis* of Existence, I submit to more compleat and recondite Anatomists. It is some Time too before they appear to advert to Sound, or discover any Affections from Odours, Nature having judged it sufficient to set the Organs of vital Motion immediately at work ; and it being necessary, perhaps, from the very delicate Texture of their Brain, that their Sensations should be extremely obtuse at first : as we find Convulsions, and those often without any other sensible Disorder, particularly fatal in this earliest Stage of Life. As the Dissection of the more manifest Nerves is sufficiently difficult ; and I have been assured by that excellent Anatomist, and my worthy Friend, Mr. HUNTER, there is no Possibility of pursuing them near to their utmost Ex-
 ility, the supposed Multiplication or Exertion of other nervous Filaments after the Birth (the Growth or Extension of the foetal ones being indisputable) is equally incapable of an affirmative or negative Demonstration. Yet as their extraordinary Portion of Sleep, supposing them healthy, is a reasonable Suggestion of their small and slow nervous Secretion, which seems principally
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expended on the immediately vital Motions (all Sensations but that of Pain, all the Passions and Faculties, being as yet out of the Question) it is probable that Nature, still plastic, may be slowly extending, tuning, and possibly even further furnishing these Organs of Sense, and Instruments of Motion, after the Birth, whose Functions were unnecessary, at least, before it. And her having no foreign or external Avocations may favour her in such a secret Operation; whose gradual Effects we see, though its certain Mode be inexplicable.

But be these Suppositions true or false, will it be eligible, on their moderate Probability, to congratulate the new and tender Visiter with the Present of a very early Disease; and to subject his vital Oeconomy to struggle, while it may be, in a Manner, but practising to move? Besides it seems reasonable to infer, that Infants perspire less than Children who use Exercise, which promotes it: for while the Circulation continues languid, there cannot be such an Exertion to the Surface; from the Defect of which the sore Heads and running Ears they are subject to on the Lap may considerably result: since we often find them vanish soon after they arrive at the free Use of their Legs; 'till when they seem to be Issues of Nature's own Formation to compensate for the Defect of Perspiration; as we find the artificial generally relieve, and sometimes cure, such Effluxions; in gross humoral Children.

One final Purpose of Nature in this smaller Perspiration, at the Dawn of Life, seems to be the speedier Accretion and Vigour of the tender Animal, which has been thought to occur in a greater Proportion for several Months after the Birth, than it ever does within the same Term afterwards. It is true that our Trials of the Proportion of Perspiration, with those of the other Discharges, have been hitherto confined to adult Bodies; so that its Comparison with them in Infants and Children has not yet appeared. But it should seem sufficient, in full grown Bodies, for the new Chyle to repair the Abrasions, and replace the *Dispendium*, of the Machine; while a moderate *Surplus* is necessary to be retained in young accrescent ones, for a farther Addition to them. Now tho' in healthy young Children, who are generally plump and succulent, she is not supposed to retain what is noxious, for this Purpose; yet it may be presumed the Fluids are somewhat less defæcate for this partial cuticular Discharge: on which may probably depend the peculiar Propensity of young Children to the Chicken and Swine Pox, with other cuticular Disorders from a slight Effervescence, to which Adults are rarely obnoxious. It may be doubted also, whether the red and white Gum, as Nurses call their Eruptions in the Month, are not owing to that total Want of Perspiration, which is probably a Circumstance of the Fœtus; and which Eruptions, while they tend to defæcate the but very lately eventilated Blood, are, perhaps,

perhaps, particularly instrumental in commencing the future necessary Perspiration. We must suppose then these primary Eruptions, common to all Infants, over, before any Person of common Sense would dream of Inoculation for them.

And even in the Months that succeed from hence to the ordinary Commencement of Dentition, which may be supposed, on a *Medium*, to happen about the sixth, I have not seldom imagined the Acidity, common to Children in the first Passages, to amount to Acrimony in some Habits; whence not only severe Gripes and curdly Stools, but even porraceous and mucous ones; in which Cases, as I should apprehend, that Infection would have but little Tendency to mend the unbalmy State of the Blood; I should be fearful too, that such an irritable Condition of the Bowels might prove a very exasperating Circumstance, and dispose to a * perilous Dysentery, as the variolous Fusion of the Humours advanced. Nevertheless if any, overlooking the Chance of such Effects, were determined to inoculate within this Term, the Stools should be considered, and such morbid Appearances of them be effaced before the Operation.

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* An Infant of six Months, inoculated last Season, had Stools, in the *Apparatus*, considerably streaked with Blood; but which changed very soon after Eruption. They gave me but little Alarm in this Stage, as the Fever and other Symptoms were moderate; and as I judged them but equivalent to a salutary Hæmorrhage by the Nose, which would probably have happened to the same Patient in a more forward Term of Life. She had between twenty and thirty Pustules in all.

I have likewise repeatedly observed, that in plump, full Infants, the Teguments are harsher, as well as thicker, than one at first would expect. The present Depth of those Blood-vessels, which prove apparently turgid as they grow up, is one Argument, at least, of this; and suggests no bad Hint of that Abhorrence, which Nature has to Venesection, during this Stage of Life. There is a much greater Difficulty in raising and detaching the Skin by the Fingers from the subjacent Muscles, than in those who are advanced enough to play about alertly; as if a further Extension of the Body was necessary to that Freedom and Extenuation of its Teguments, that is one happy Circumstance for the Reception of the Small Pox, as it disposes to an easy Egress of it: And this greater Resistance at the Surface is likely to be of the worse Consequence, where the Contractions of the Heart are more feeble; our most hopeful Prospect, in such a Situation, being the small Quantity of the Matter expected to be extruded. For, with Regard to the Exility of the Vessels, the Straitness of the excretory Ducts, and the State of the Integuments, there appears to be too much Crudeness and Immaturity in the early infantile System, to render it very pliable to this eruptive Disease; whence the previous Extrication is often attended with more Difficulty in this, than what usually attends an equal variolous Assimilation in a subsequent Stage.

When the Infant advances a few Months, the Term of Dentition begins, tho' often varying
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three or four in different Bodies. As this is a very painful and morbid Period with some, and not seldom attended with febrile and convulsive Disorders, I should by no means be for superadding the Operation of the variolous Cause to them, or to the probable Intervention of them. Dr. FULLER thinks it dangerous in Children at this Term, and I have already mentioned a Patient of my own miscarrying under Inoculation at ten Months. Yet I have no Doubt but many inoculated in the tender Months have done, and may do, very well: while this is transcribing, April 1753, a lovely Babe of six Months has got thro' all the little Peril of the artificial Disease; and tho' her left Eye * was weak and watry from the Birth, there has not been the slightest Eruption near it; and what little Alteration has happened to it is rather for the better. It is indeed a reasonable Presumption the same Individuals can never undergo a smaller Eruption at any subsequent Term: tho' I must confess, upon the whole, for the Reasons already specified, I imagine it is not fully availing ourselves of every favourable Circumstance. Should they happen to have such sore Mouths as sometimes occur in the Disease, which may prevent their sucking or drinking, their Situation would be dangerous; a material Circumstance, which I find Mr. RANBY

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has

* A gentle small Blister was applied behind the left Ear, which rose and run well: this Effluxion was directed to be encouraged as it dried, by frequent Frictions; and the Incision was made in her right Arm, instead of the left.

has also adverted to, who disapproves Inoculation, under four Years of Age. It appears from Dr. SCHEUCHZER's Tables, that out of twenty-four inoculated under one Year old, from the Year 1721 to 1728, inclusive, two died. Mr. GOLD-WYER of *Salisbury*, informs me, that one of the four dying there after Inoculation was a Child about twelve Months old, who had but seven Pustules, and was twice purged; but had a Fever very soon after from Dentition, and died on cutting a second Tooth. BOYLSTON inoculated but six, from nine Months to two Years old, who all recovered; but such a Number is too small to form an Estimate from, as the natural Disease does not generally kill more than one in six or seven.

The Duration of Infancy should seem, from the Etymology of the Word, to determine with the fair Commencement of articulate Speech. As this is considerably various in the little Individuals, to give it a reasonable Extent, we shall suppose them about two Years of Age; when we may as generally allow them Strength and Habitability for Self-motion. When their Terrors from the first Essays of this new Faculty are just subdued, it is pleasant to contemplate the Exultation of the pretty Innocents in the early Exercise of it: and perhaps no future Vehicle, by Land or Water, will ever give them an equal Delight with the Novelty and Consciousness of this self-moving Power. Their *vis vitae*, their nervous Secretion, and cuticular Discharge are now increased, to their manifest Vividity and Lightness; and yet there is
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no considerable Extenuation of their Advantages for the Disease, if they have been properly dieted and regulated. It must be considered however, that the painful and febrile cutting of their Eye Teeth now occurs to many: And when we reflect on the great Majority of Deaths under two Years, we shall probably judge it political, at least, to get the young variolous Volunteer (who must, at this Age, become such by his natural Proxies) considerably beyond the slippery Borders of it. Nevertheless, where the natural Disease should be very epidemical and unusually fatal to Children then; where the Subjects were not ailing and infirm for that Age; and it was inconvenient to move them from the Sphere of Infection, I should think the Operation, even at this Term, eligible; but from such Circumstances only. From thirty-four inoculated here, within the Term of eight Years, from the Age of one to two, four died, which is nearly one in eight: one of the late deceased at *Salisbury* was also under two Years, and died of a confluent Disease.

From two upwards to five the Number of Funerals is sensibly contracted; tho' still remarkably more than in the succeeding Stage. And indeed I should consider the Age of five and its *Environs*, which I may call from four to seven inclusive, as a very eligible Term for Inoculation: tho' undoubtedly one Child may be as proper a Subject for it at three, as another at four, or upwards; such different Fitnesses being of Course
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submitted to the particular Gentlemen consulted on such Occasions. Their natural Dispositions now become more manifest: their Faculties begin to dawn through their Looks: their collecting and compounding Ideas very entertainingly evidence the firmer, and, if I may be pardoned the Expression, the more inhabitable Structure of the Brain, and the compleater Functions of its sensitive Emissaries. A proportionable Invigoration of the vital ones is a very obvious Inference. Their Teguments are generally as well disposed for the Distemper now as they are ever like to be: As yet we may suppose few of them affected with much Dread of it; and when the Operation is resolved on, a Majority of them may be easily deceived into it, without infusing the least Apprehension of any subsequent Disorder. And now as soon as the ensuing Disease is happily determined, which is next to universally the Case, what Hours, what Years of Anxiety are the Offspring delivered from, by this prudent, this truly parental and early Pre-occupation of the Small Pox, at that Season of Life, when the mild and ductile Strength of the Subject concur, with many other Circumstances, to constitute the most benign Temperature for the Disease! a Situation not always to be equalled afterwards. About this Time too Children generally become more tractable; and Miss begins to form a sufficient Estimate of Beauty, to abstain from scratching or picking, if disposed to it: besides, if a more considerable Eruption, than what
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usually happens to the inoculated about this Age, should occur, there is still a sufficient Term to out-grow them before Maturity. Of sixty-five inoculated here, within the Term already mentioned, from the Age of two to three, but one died. One of the four deceased at *Salisbury* was about three Years old, and had a confluent and chrystalline Pock. BOYLSTON reckons fourteen inoculated from two to five Years old, who all recovered, by his Tables.

From seven to Puberty, or its near Approaches, we shall consider as the next favourable Period for the Operation. The remarkable Decrease of Funerals in this *Stadium* evinces a considerable Invigoration of the Strength, and some Approaches towards the Knitting and Establishment of the Constitution. But as the *Vis vitae* (since we continually suppose a healthy Subject) is abundantly sufficient now, their Teguments become a little more renitent, not from Crudity, but Firmness. If they have been indulged in tasting strong Liquors and a plentiful Course of animal Food, the variolous Fuel may have been augmented also; (tho' the different Energy of the connate Portion is a most important Circumstance) and, what we have observed may be of some bad Consequence, many within this Term have a Dread of the Distemper. Their frequent Use of good ripe Fruit, if sound and not excessive, can be of little Disservice to them; and we may pretty justly conclude, on the whole, that they get as safely through Inoculation as those within the former

former Term. In a hundred of each inoculated, it is very probable the Number of Eruptions of those in the later *Stadium* would exceed; tho' it really happens to a Majority of these, to have no more than they undergo very easily. So that where they have not had the Disease in any of the preceding Terms, and are likely to live in the Way of it, it seems entirely prudent to embrace it in this. Out of 257 inoculated here, within the aforesaid Term, from the Age of five to ten, three died, 249 only taking a compleat Small Pox, which makes the Proportion dying by Inoculation, within those Ages, one in eighty-three. BOYLSTON has but sixteen inoculated, from five to ten, who all did well. Perhaps, on the whole, no other Stage of Life is more eligible than such an Interval, for the Operation.

At the Evolutions, and in the early Progress, of Puberty, there is a stupendous Alteration in the animal Frame. The vegetative Principle is now extraordinarily exerted in the Explication of particular Organizations. Even new Parts emerge, new Secretions spring, and a new Passion, or a very different Direction of a former one, attended with a various Modification of those already experienced, ensues. The Voice contracts another Tone; the whole Form, the Eyes and Aspect, another Air; they imbibe, and they impress, Affections entirely novel; and a conscious *Je ne sçai quoi*, which Looks can only express, characterizes this Spring, this first Germination of the self-renewing Faculty. The
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natural Humidity is apparently now in its full Proportion; and the cutaneous Discharge in its full Vigour, which, in some Habits, becomes less agreeable, tho' inoffensive in most, and in a few, as it is recorded of ALEXANDER, even redolent. Very probably Mr. THOMPSON thought of this last Circumstance, in his admirable Description of Spring, when, speaking of a Virgin in this Stage, he says, 'She breaths of Youth.' Not incorrespondent to such a State is that of the *Magnolia* (as the Curious term the Tulip-leaved Laurel) and some other flowering Trees, of several Years Growth before they bloom; previous to which a new Series of Vessels are either then formed, or first explained, and infused with a peculiar Fluid from the Plant, diffusive of its Odours, and preparatory to the Continuance of its kind.

The most universal Effects in the Creation contract a Familiarity, from their Frequency, that renders them, how charming soever, too cheap to the superficial Observer: But the philosophical and contemplative, who investigate them as far as human Study, and their Portion of human Penetration, enable them; while they discover enough of the interior Oeconomy of Nature in the Renovation of all Bodies, to engage their most rational Admiration; at the same Time experience something so latent, so coy and inaccessible, as I may term it, in the efficacious Process, that it immediately refers them to the super-intendant Volition of a supreme and perfect

fect Intelligence, with a *Deus! en Deus!* and obliges them to consider the whole as miraculous, in spite of its continual Occurrence, its unfailing Regularity and Tenour. But to return from still Life — We may well infer, that about this Period, in the human Constitution, the high and inflammable Principles of our Mass become more copious and energetic; the natural *Fomes* of the Small Pox is further diffused through the augmented and expanded Mass; the adventitious may be considerably increased by high and superfluous Aliment; and both may be exalted by violent Exercise. During this Term, under which, to make it the more comprehensive, we shall include the Subjects of the Disease from fifteen to twenty-five, accidental Infection has undoubtedly a considerable Number of Victims; the natural Heat and Vigour too frequently co-operating with the inflammatory Symptoms to their own Extinction. Yet may it be necessary to add here, that as this Stage is generally preferable to any subsequent, it seems better to inoculate now than to postpone it; tho' in general we are to expect a more liberal Eruption, and often a higher Degree of variolous Symptoms than in the former Periods. SCHEUCHZER's Tables make 140 inoculated here from ten to fifteen, of whom 131 only took completely, and but one died. From fifteen to twenty Years, 104 were inoculated, ninety-five compleatly taking, three imperfectly, and two dying, that is one in forty-eight nearly. BOYLSTON has 29 inoculated, from ten to fifteen; who

who all took and recovered ; and fifty-one, from fifteen to twenty, who all took, and of whom one died.

From twenty-five Years upwards, it is highly probable, the Constitution never meliorates for the Reception of the Small Pox ; unless from the Accident of some extraordinary Relaxation or Discharge, that damps or lessens, for a Time, its natural Fuel in the Blood, without leaving any morbid Impression on the *Viscera*. The Teguments, and the Solids in general, approach to a more tense and rigid State ; the red Globules probably become more fibrous and compact ; whence a greater Orgasm, from a fiercer Luctation with the variolous Infection ; tho' little conducive to the Security of the Patient, whose physical Situation, in this Case, may be compared to the political one of over-wealthy and potent States ; whence Luxury, Faction and those civil Confusions increase, which sometimes terminate in their Dissolution, as the Roman Lyric says of antient *Rome*,

Suis ipsa Roma viribus ruit.

Such Constitutions seem directly opposite to those which SYDENHAM, I imagine, has designed under his *ευμεταβολοι* ; whose mild Fluids submit to a small Assimilation ; and whose free Ducts and yielding Teguments afford it a ready Eruption without much perceivable Sicknefs. And tho' such contrasted Constitutions appear in the same,
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as well as at different Stages of Life; yet as we are here abstractedly enquiring into the various, and general Aptitude of the different Stages for Inoculation, we may affirm, the unyielding and inflammable Subjects will most frequently occur from about thirty or thirty-five, when the Body has generally attained its most compleat Euexy and Vigour, to about fifty in healthy Men; in the more robust, to fifty-four or fifty-five, when the *cruda viridisque Senectus* has been reckoned to begin; and which may extend in strong *Stamina* even to seventy, at which Time decrepit Age commences with a Majority of those, who arrive at these Years. Undoubtedly during what may be called the robust and settled Term of Life, the Space between Youth and Age, which may be settled pretty generally in this Climate from thirty to fifty (when the Subjects will correspond pretty well with the *καθ' ἑαυτὴν* of HIPPOCRATES) the natural Disease is considerably depredatory and fatal; and we may reasonably expect the *Ratio* of Inoculation within the same Term to vary in some Proportion. Happy and easy are those who have fortunately past thro' a much earlier Infection! We are uncertain from Dr. SCHEUCHZER's Tables, how far beyond the Age of twenty they ventured to inoculate within the first eight Years of the Practice. He puts down however 110 inoculated who were upwards of twenty Years, of whom ninety-one took compleatly, six imperfectly, thirteen not at all, and two died, or one in forty-five

five of those who fairly took. BOYLSTON has sixty-two inoculated, from 20 to 30, of whom sixty took, two missed, and one died. We might indeed, once for all, have referred our Readers back to the Tables of those Writers, which we have reprinted *figuratim*, to calculate for themselves; but the Proportion of Deaths and Recoveries from Inoculation, constituting a very essential Part of this Work, such a Recital here may prove the most venial Redundance in it.

Were it necessary to advance to the later Stages of Life, we have TIMONI's Affirmation, 'that it has been performed on Persons of all Ages, without any one being found to die of it.' PYLARINI, with more Reserve, says, 'seldom or never has any bad Consequence happened; tho' it has been performed on all Ages and Temperaments.' The former has certainly not been the Case with us in *Europe* nor in *America*; and indeed it would be unaccountable, if it were: For tho' we may admit People in general on the evident Invasion of Age, and much more in the Progress and Advancement of it (supposing them temperate and regular) to be less inflammable Subjects than at the Vigour of Life, and to be rather phlegmatic than bilious; yet we must be sensible the Circulation is now feebler; the Rigidity of the Vessels is increased, the Arteries having become bony, in some old Persons; the Teguments are dryer; some of the minuter Capillaries, which in meer Infancy might not be sufficiently explained or dilated for the Circulation,

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may at this Age as probably be cancelled; and the Perspiration considerably decreased. Now as the former Circumstances will render variolous Extrication and Eruption very difficult; so the last will occasion a foul and recrementitious Blood, which might otherwise perplex and anomalise the Disease, it had no direct Tendency, as a *Pabulum*, to exasperate. Should the Symptoms run high, they will be in the State of Infants or young Children, with Regard to their Strength, without the advantageous Ignorance of their Danger. They will not be so liable, as the strongest Patients, to a mortal Colluctation with the Operation of the imbibed Venom; tho' probably more so, to as fatal a Succumbence under it. But supposing Eruption got tolerably over, we should be less surprized at a tardy and imperfect Suppuration, at a filiquose or verrucose Pock, or at that Disposition to a Gangrene, to which old Age is, on other Accounts, so obnoxious. And besides these Objections to Inoculation at these Times of Life, we may observe, which DIEMERBROECK did of the Plague itself, that old People are really less susceptible of the natural Infection (probably from a Diminution or Dampness of the more high and volatile Principles of the Mass) and that the more advanced have ofteneft missed it by Inoculation, which was early observed by Dr. JURIN. We may 'morally reflect too, that he must either have had a very uncommonly uninterrupted Series of earthly Happiness, who could embrace such an Infection after forty-five or upwards

wards, for a contingent Prolongation of his Life, through an Immunity from one Distemper: or that he must be affected with an excessive Dread at his inevitable Subjection to Death, who could be so deeply solicitous about a little Remainder of the Day, when Evening admonished him of the necessary Approach of Night. Neither might such a Patient, after a severe Small Pox (which he has rather Reason to expect, even from Inoculation) be able to emerge so compleatly thro' all its impairing and morbid Consequences, as one in any of the former Stages of Life. In *Great Britain* or *Ireland* I have not heard they inoculated Persons advanced in Life, and of Course not the aged. Mr. RANBY, to the best of my Recollection, informed me, he inoculated none above two or three and thirty. In *New England* it has been done from fifty to sixty-seven: Women pregnant, and soon after Delivery, Grandfathers and Grandmothers have been inoculated with their Posterity: and if there had been any Belldames who desired it, they might probably have found an Operator. Of forty-two, who took by Inoculation at *Boston*, out of forty-four, from 30 to 40, one died. Of seven, who took out of eight inoculated, from forty to fifty, none. It seems less surprizing that two died out of seven inoculated there from fifty to sixty, than that only one died out of as many inoculated, from sixty to sixty-seven. Such Temerity must have justly subjected its Authors to that Censure of HORACE,

— *dum vitant vitia, in contraria currunt.*

Thus much, and perhaps but too prolixly, on the Advantages and Disadvantages of the different Seasons of Life, for the Small Pox. But as it was our initial Purpose to leave nothing very material on this interesting Subject for any future Compiler, 'till a much larger Experience of the Practice shall render it expedient, we are the less concerned for any such Redundance, as may have a Chance of being once useful. We proceed then to consider the different Seasons of the Year in the same Relation.

It can scarcely be necessary to premise, that the Seasons have an obvious Relation to Climate; or that the Summers of *Constantinople*, which lies in about 41 N. Latitude, or those of *Charles Town*, which lies in near 33, must not only be greatly hotter, but commence earlier and terminate later than a *British* Summer. TIMONI says, 'this Operation is performed either in the Beginning of Winter, or in the Spring.' Yet PYLARINI tells us, 'the *Greek* Operatrix never performed it but in Winter, tho' he takes the Spring also to be proper.' The middle of September is seldom unseasonable here, but the inoculating Hospital, I think, rarely operates before October. Some have thought the very cold and rigid Months might be unfavourable for it; yet we find Dr. NETTLETON, whose Patients very generally succeeded, inoculated in December, January, &c. Dr. FULLER's were in April. BOYLSTON begun to inoculate in *New England* the latter End of June 1721, when it must be pretty hot
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in the Latitude of forty-two, and continued it to the following May, before which he must have experienced it in the Severity of their rigid Winters at *Boston*. The great Numbers inoculated in *South Carolina* in 1738 were in their raging Summer Months; but this was a Matter of utter Necessity. The 300 recorded by Dr. MEAD to have been inoculated in *St. Christopher's*, in the Latitude of about 17, must consequently have been infected in hot Weather. These last are all affirmed to have done well: and indeed from this general cursory View we may well infer, that the great Advantage of Inoculation in all Times and Places looks, as if Providence intended it for an universal Relief and Asswagement of the natural Malady, whenever, and wherever, it raged. Nevertheless, as the State and Temperature of the Air, that Fluid we incessantly imbibe, will very probably have some Effect on these Occasions; and as we are supposed to select every availing Circumstance for communicating the Small Pox, let us reflect a little, what Influence different Seasons may reasonably be supposed to have on it.

Were we to imagine a considerable Similarity between the Seasons of antient *Greece* and ours (which we cannot strictly do) and listen to what the venerable *Coan* briefly says of the former, we must conclude the Spring an eligible Season for infusing the Disease, as he terms it the (a) most healthy one, and particularly for Children

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and

(a) Ἡ ἐν ὑγιεινότητι, καὶ ἡνικα διαταλάσκει: L. 3. Aph. 9

and young People. (a) And indeed we may be sensible that our Springs, upon the whole, differ but little, in their general Healthfulness, from the *Grecian*. The cutaneous Discharge, which the Cold had restrained, is now augmenting; the Circulation through the superficial Capillaries is more free; the Blood is probably of a kindly Fluidity and *Crafsis* for this Disease, and the Teguments in no bad Disposition; especially if we suppose a settled Spring, and rather blandly tepid than raw or nipping; tho' in some Habits and Circumstances the latter Temperature may not interdict it. The very Aspect of the Season, and the benign light Exhalations from the teeming Earth, may conduce to Health, and increase the nervous *Pabulum* and Secretion; as I have sometimes imagined all very delightful Prospects, all entertaining Employment, and rational Pleasures do. The Poets and Naturalists of all Climates, that enjoy a very distinct Spring, have not been wanting in their Eulogies of the Salubrity and Pleasure of this Morning of the Year, as we may term it. There is no præternatural Fervour as yet imbibed by the Summer's Heat; the Bile is not greatly augmented, nor turgescient; there is little Tendency to Putrefaction; nor are the Solids as dense and renitent as in severe Winters. Undoubtedly, on the whole, the Spring is far from being improper for Inoculation. The Hospital

(a) Τα μὲν ἡρῶ καὶ ἀκρὰ τε θέρεθ, οἱ παῖδες, καὶ οἱ τετεω-
 ῖχομενοι τῇσιν ἡλικίῃσιν ἀριστὰς Διαγασσι, καὶ ὑγιαίνουσι μάλιστα.
 L. 3. Aph. 18.

pital constituted solely for it ordinarily receives Subjects the latter End of March, and early in April. Besides, should the Patients be visited with a greater Eruption or higher Symptoms than usually attend it, the mild Advances of our pleasant Summer succeed very opportunely to air, recreate and recruit them.

Yet as nothing is perfect and unmixed, we must observe, that this Season, like the rest, has its Propensity to the Production of particular Disorders. In enumerating those peculiar to the Spring, HIPPOCRATES (1) specifies very many of the cutaneous Disorders of his Country-men, which are more than we have meer *English* Names for, a sufficient Proof of their not being so familiar to this Climate; whose Spring must be more temperate than theirs, which probably rises to the Heat of our ordinary Summers. It must be acknowledged however, that such infebriile Eruptions as happen here occur more frequently in the Spring than at other Seasons. Now whether this is solely owing to the Attenuation and Expulsion of any acrid and noxious Particles, which the Winter's Cold had locked up in the Mass; and which may be particularly accumulated in that Season, from our smaller Proportion of vegetable Food then, and a more than usual Quantity of baked and high seasoned Meats: or whether it depends only on a greater Expansion of the Blood and Relaxation of the Teguments by the returning Warmth, it evinces the Disposition of this Season

(a) L. 3. Aph. 20.

son to eruptive Diseases ; that is, to such as depend on a more diffusive Motion from the Centre to the Superficies, with a greater Excretion there. This will give us but little Apprehension of internal Eruption then, if we may be allowed the Expression, which must be defensible, as the *Viscera* have their exterior Surface too. But the Question here is, whether, from the present Tendency of various Eruptions to the Surface of the Body, a more copious and less simple Eruption may not occur in the Small Pox, more particularly in the Spring? A late chirurgical Writer on Inoculation is fond of supposing a particular Malignity in the Small Pox at this Season : and it is not improbable that when all the Fluids in our Hemisphere are rarefied and excited, in order to vegetable Generation, our vital Fluids may become gradually more disposed to a Motion very analogous to Fermentation. But we should not omit to add here, that this gradual Attenuation of the Mass, and its freer Diffusion is in general manifestly benign and salutary, disposing many Animals to a Renovation of their Kind, with that of their Food. Besides the Matter of those little Eruptions that occur at this Season, and chiefly in Children, can have no considerable Malignity, as it occasioned little febrile Commotion or sensible Complaint by its Commixture with the Blood before its actual Eruption ; which having a Tendency to defæcate the Mass, possibly even a judicious Use might be made of it, previous to Inoculation. Serjeant RANBY expressly

pressly says, that slight Eruptions on the Face or Body never deterred him from inoculating; nor did he ever experience any Aggravation of the ensuing Disease from them: and upon the whole we think it very clear, that the Advantages of this Season for the Operation sensibly out-weigh its Inconveniences, which reiterated Experience has verified: and with which, a malignant Species of the Small Pox for two or three Springs, if it could be proved, instead of being mentioned, would not equiponderate.

Summer seems unanimously rejected for this Operation by all Writers, and certainly, in the main, with great Justice; since the same Intemperature, most generally observed to exalt the Virosity of the natural Disease, must have an obvious Tendency to raise the Symptoms of that, which is excited by a different Application of the same contagious Cause, and which is so genuine, tho' a very soft Resemblance of it in Miniature. Every medical Person, who has endured the Fervours of Summers equal to the *Grecian*, must have seen, in their burning, their bilious Fevers, their *Choleras*, and their bloody Fluxes, too many mortal Exemplifications of the καυστοι, ἐμῆτοι, διαρροιαί, which HIPPOCRATES (1) considers as the proper Diseases of this Season; his ἰδρωα also corresponding very closely to their prickly Heat. HEURNIUS, who lived in *Holland*, asserts, on this Aphorism, (a) ' that Summer produces a
great

(1) L. 3. Aph. 21. (a) Aestas acerrimae bilis procreatrix est.—In locum modò citatum.

great Acridity of the Bile.' His Expression is rather stronger, signifying its Procreation of the most acrid. BOERHAAVE also tells us, (1) 'that Summer, and whatever increases the Velocity of the Blood, wonderfully encreases and exalts bilious acrid Salts'; and, in talking of the Small Pox, terms them, in the Height of a *Dutch* Summer, *periculossimae*, most highly dangerous. In Fact the nine who died, out of 900 inoculated in *Carolina*, all died in their very hot Summer Months. In *Britain* we hear very little of its being enterprized at this Term. The celebrated *Sydenham's* Remarks on the natural Disease, and those of many other eminent Writers, all tend to the same Purpose. Neither must we omit so material an Argument against it, as that of this Season's particular Tendency to promote Putrefaction; to which it may be added, that Summer, in some Constitutions, may require a pretty accurate Preparation, for which it is not the best Time.

But having rendered this just Deference to these Facts, Arguments and Authorities, let us not be partially unattentive, to Facts at least, on the other Hand. Of twenty-two which BOYLSTON inoculated at *Boston*, between June twenty-sixth and August thirtieth, one died, who was inoculated the last Day. If it be considered, that but one died out of each hundred inoculated in *Carolina*, all indeed in June, July, and August, when I have observed the natural Distemper, at the

(1) Demedicam. Oper.

the very least, carried off every fifth Patient; and if we admit the raging Heat of those Months there to be, as it very probably was, a most aggravating Circumstance, it must have demonstrated the great comparative Security of Inoculation, even in Summer there. The 300 Negroes inoculated in St. *Christopher's*, under an incessant Summer, cannot well be urged as an Objection to it then; tho' perhaps as they were all *Africans* or their Descendants, the Heat was not so deterring a Circumstance in them, as it might be in Whites or Europeans. Indeed were it not for such Success in such Climates, all those very near, and within, the *Tropics*, where its Relief is likely to be very necessary, would be interdicted the Use of it: and as this violent Disease was not improbably at first an endemic or aboriginal of *Africa*, it were hard to suppose, that Providence had rendered it, from that Privation of Cold, which its Name imports, incapable of the greatest Security from the mortal Degrees of it. These Considerations will at least hint, that our Summer may not be the most improper Season for inoculating *Africans* here; the natural *Crisis* of whose Fluids undoubtedly better adapts them to bear, and even thrive in, Heat, than ours; especially if their Colour absorbs Heat, as it has been supposed to do Light. And possibly if any Person of our own Complexion, of a moist or phlegmatic Constitution, and approaching the Winter of Life, was determined to be inoculated, he might prove such a reasonable Exception to
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the general Deteriority of our Summer for the Operation, as to render it judiciously preferable; especially if it was, in general, his most healthy Time. Neither is this Season altogether void of some favourable Circumstances for this Distemper, such as the augmented Perspiration, and laxer State of the Teguments in it: to which it may be added, that not a few of our Summers have been too moderate for the compleat Maturation and Savour of our Fruits; and that in certain Fact the natural Disease has been, not very seldom, found more benign at this Season than in some Winters with us. Yet as our coolest Summers must have a less simple, and elastic Air, from some Exhalations, its Inconveniences will generally preponderate; and it must be particularly pernicious to bilious, hot and dry Temperaments, to contract the Small Pox in it. The Summer then, even our own, seems justly to be rejected, in most Cases and general Situations, for the Operation: though, where the natural Disease was very epidemic, and unusually fatal then, such reflecting Subjects of it, as could not retreat from the Scene of Infection, will not form to themselves the least cogent Arguments, for admitting, at so perilous a Juncture, the least perilous Mode of it. The Consequence from a *Carolina* Summer is no bad Precedent. Neither must we omit here, that the Climates and Summers, Strangers have been habituated to, may well deserve our Consideration on this Head. Thus several Children from *South Carolina* were
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very successfully inoculated here last May ; and I inoculated one as late as June the 1st. N. S. or May the 20th O. S. whom indeed I supposed and found a very mild Subject for the Distemper : I should have been less disposed to it at that Season on a Native here.

The Italian Physicians, who obliged us with the earliest Informations of this Practice, are as silent about the Use of it in Autumn, as in Summer ; tho' its Interdiction is sufficiently implied in one's confining it, with the *Greek Woman*, entirely to the Winter, and the others limiting it to Winter and Spring. The Summers at *Constantinople* being much hotter and more extended than our own ; from the great Attrition and Expendence of their Humours then, it must follow, that their Autumns, which cannot greatly differ from the (a) *Hippocratic*, must be sicklier than the *British*. And it happens indeed pretty constantly, that the Inhabitants of *Carolina* are more healthy during the equable, tho' severe, Heats of their three violent Summer Months, than upon their sensible Abatement. For if the (b) Changes of the Seasons, as that great Observer notes, are a principal Source of Diseases, it must considerably depend on their varying the Excretions, particularly that important one of Perspiration, which is certainly much greater at *Constantinople* than here,

(a) Ἐν Φθινοπορεῶ ὀξύτατοι αἱ νεσοί, καὶ θανατοδρασταί, ὥς ἐμπαν. L. 3. Aph. 9.

(b) Αἱ μεταβολαὶ τῶν ὥρων μαλιστα τικτεσι νοσημαῖα.

L. 3. Aph. 1.

here; and consequently subject to a greater, that is, a more morbid, Variation. But if we suppose Autumn to commence here rather before the middle of September, according to our lately rectified Style, Experience has convinced us it is a very proper Season for Inoculation, notwithstanding its being unhealthy for many addicted to chronically periodical Diseases. An eminent Physician, whom I had Occasion to converse with on this Disease, said, he imagined the Fall a good Season for the Operation, from our Humours having been previously cooled and diluted by the Summer Fruits. This appears not unreasonable; and we may gratefully observe, by the Way, the abundant Goodness of the omnipotent Physician, in presenting us, at that Noon of the Year, with Plenty and Variety of such Regales as attemper the Blood, and correct the Bile in its most turgescient State; and in showering down a Profusion of the most acid and cooling Fruits, where it abounds most, and where there is the greatest Tendency to Putrefaction from Heat. As the Operation here is almost wholly confined to Spring and Fall, its few Miscarriages must have occurred at those Seasons; and they may, without any material Error, be equally divided between them. After the first Patient BOYLSTON lost, which was in August, none of the other five died, 'till very late in November, when their Winter may be reckoned set in.

The first Inoculators selected Winter solely for the Operation, and if we consider the Climate and
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Air of *Constantinople*, that Season, when they are generally the freest from pestilential Diseases, promises to constitute the best Temperature for it there. But the Question is, whether it is so in our own, or in still more northern Regions, where the Cold is very rigid, and sometimes extreme. The most favourable Quality of Cold, with Regard to this Disease, seems to be its Opposition to that Putridity of the Humours, which often attends the severest Degrees of it: its most unfavourable one is, that it is apt to render the Vessels, Ducts and Teguments too rigid, and the Blood itself, perhaps, too compact, from which last Circumstance a greater internal Conflict and Fever may ensue, as a more difficult Eruption may result from the first. And tho' a very gradual Eruption, after Infection, would be desirable, where we had Reason to suppose it the Effect of a very moderate Assimilation: yet if the Humours considerably variolated are retained much beyond the ordinary Term of a salutary Eruption, by a Straitness or Rigidity of the Canals, thro' which they should be waisted to the Surface, a Translation of it may be determined on some internal and less renitent Part. But here it is obvious that Inoculation, which takes off the Resistance of the inoculated Limb or Limbs, and makes their Ulcers attractive of that Poison whose Seeds were infused through them, has a great Advantage of the natural Disease in this as well as other Seasons. With Regard to our own Winters it must be acknowledged, that for several late ones more.

more have died of the natural Disease than in the preceding or subsequent Summers. Whether this may be ascribed to a greater Number of Persons (among whom are many fresh Subjects for it) residing in *London* during Winter; whether the Check of Perspiration, the more foggy and sulphurous Air, some Alteration of Diet during the Season, or whatever else may cause, or conduce to it, our Bills have demonstrated the Fact abundantly. If such a remarkable Mortality, repeated again in the same Season, should induce People to be inoculated in it (as a great Mortality must be a very natural Incentive) we must grant that it will be more practicable to defend a proper Chamber from all severe Cold, than it will be to render the Air of one, in a very sultry Summer, considerably cooler than the contiguous Parts of the Atmosphere. I should think extreme cold Weather improper for the Operation in most Bodies, and particularly in tense and rigid Subjects, and such as sweated with Difficulty. It might succeed better with the very bilious, and with those full soft Habits, in which we might apprehend some putrid and colliquative Symptoms, from a Summer Infection.

We shall endeavour to be the more concise on the most and least favourable Complexions and Temperaments for this Disease (the former being supposed considerably indicative of the latter) since much of this has been occasionally insinuated and interspersed in some of the former Sections. Besides which, the Temperaments, or
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the Humours, which greatly constitute them, have no insignificant Relation to the different Stages of Life, and Seasons of the Year, which have been already considered. Thus meer Children compared, not with each other, but with the Generality of those at other Stages, are rarely bilious; meer Youth is rarely phlegmatic, or old Age very sanguine. And thus, in the Spring, the rosy Blood seems gently expanded; in Summer the Bile abounds, and in Autumn and Winter Phlegm and Rheum. But when we come to consider Individuals, abstracted from the different Stages of Life, and Seasons of the Year, undoubtedly those in the same Stage differ, and even in the same Season, greatly, in Temperament. I have imagined, in general, that the Complexions which exhibited a soft damask-like Rosiness in the Countenance, with a mild, unardent Vividness of the Eyes and Aspect, were the most happily disposed for this Disease. This seems to promise a full Proportion of a fine, simple Lymph, for a favourable Dilution of the inflammable red Globules. Some Drops of a rich, bright, crimson Tincture, instilled into a Quantity of pure, diaphanous, elemental Water, that might not affect the tinging Body by any mineral, or metallic Addition, may give us some Idea of such an Appearance; however short of the inimitably mild and corrected Glow, which animating Nature softly diffuses, in this temperate Climate, over the Countenance of many of the gentler Sex. It should seem, in these fine Archetypes, as if the

Bile were perfectly secreted by its proper Organs; the *Rete mucosum* nearly colourless, and its Envelopements again delicate, smooth and clear. And yet we had a late Instance, that an Exception may occur to the entire Success of this happiest Complexion for the Small Pox, in the second Daughter of the late brave and worthy Sir PETER WARREN; which young Lady, under this very promising Appearance, and at about the Age of six, took a severe Quantity of it, from which she recovered, not without Difficulty; and which left too many Traces of its Triumphs behind it. But we must not omit, that she had heated herself greatly in *Kensington* Gardens before Seizure; and was surprized by the Sight of one newly recovered from the Disease. Miss WARREN, who has that Complexion we have attempted to describe, had before been inoculated by Serjeant HAWKINS, and has scarcely a perceivable Vestige of the Disease.

Those who have Flush enough to be termed ruddy or sanguine, if not too deep, and moderately clear, frequently succeed well when young, in the natural Way; notwithstanding they generally assimilate more than the former, as it is not unusual to see considerable Traces of this Disease in wholesome ruddy Faces. But the Time of Life when such were seized, the Climate and Season of the Year, their Way of Living and Exercise, just previous to Contagion, and the Density of their Teguments, which must be eroded through by the Pustules, are to be

be considered in the Estimate. Such, however, generally come off very well by Inoculation. Great Care should be taken not to heat their Blood any Way previous to it. About the Time of sickening, if not advanced in adult Life, they are generally inclinable to Hæmorrhages from the Nose, which have much oftner a good Effect than the contrary: nevertheless it sufficiently contraindicates the Use of Posset Drinks, or Milk, even tho' diluted.

But where the Redness should be so intense, as to verge towards a Shade of Purple in the Face; and to protrude in rough Pimples and a sort of Excrescences (which occur oftneft in adult intemperate Persons) we should apprehend a severe Disease. Their Blood is manifestly pregnant with rich and sulphureous Parts, and such ascending much more into the Face, than they appear on the Trunk or Extremities, apparently depends on the same *Rationale* * with the Eruption of the earliest and most corroding Pustules there.

The bilious Temperament, that betrays itself in a Flavescence of the Face and Teguments, and an unclear White of the Eye, threatens a very bad Disposition for it. And tho' the *atra Bilis* of the Antients, and of some antient Moderns, affords me no precise Idea; yet where I have observed this Colour still more brown and intense (supposing the Effects of Climate and Insolation out of the Question) with a certain concomitant Heaviness of Aspect, a dry Habit, and

* See P. 154.

harsh Voice, I have dreaded even the Inoculation of the Subject; and would have all, so unhappily constituted for it, to retire, if possible, beyond the Activity of Infection, or their own Attraction of it. The Pale, if clear, may be considered, in some Respect, as contrasted to the Bilious; and where it is not morbid, but natural, and as it were hereditary, and may reasonably be supposed to depend on such a mild and copious Humidity of the Constitution (from a smaller Proportion of the *Crassamentum*) as is often accompanied with a supple Fibre, they may not be very unpromising Subjects for the Disease, and are sometimes more disposed to flow and nervous, than very inflammatory Symptoms. But where the Paleness was indicative of a Cacochymy or Leucophlegmacy, and tinged the Countenance with a Shade of the *Chloresis*, though that Distemper did not exist, we may be likely to experience a perverse Disease. For tho' we do not consider the Lymph in this State, nor even the Phlegm, which may be an Incrassation of it, as the proper *Nidus* or Harbinger of the Small Pox; yet, as it is morbid, there may be some Doubt, whether, as morbid, it might not exasperate the Disease, which it will very probably perplex. And this may be the Case of many of those pale Complexions we observe often severely pitted after the Small Pox.

We shall conclude this Section, by enquiring, what different morbid Dispositions should more or less discourage us from the Practice of Inoculation

lation on Persons affected by, or propense to, them: an Enquiry we should probably have declined, had there not been a few Instances of People who have been permitted, and even encouraged, to submit to Inoculation, for other Purposes, than that of introducing the Disease gently; which we cannot avoid condemning very generally, and which did not take its Rise in *Europe*. But after a very hearty Averment of our Opinion, that the morbid, the very infirm and valetudinary, as such, are improper Subjects for this Operation, it will be but impartial to distinguish, that some particular Indispositions are more strongly interdictive of it than others. We have never heard, and cannot suppose, any have been absurd enough to recommend this Infection for a Remedy against any acute, contagious, or febrile Disorder; but rather for the Removal or Mitigation of some chronical or periodical Complaint. The Scrophulous then, if of a very hot Intemperies (for I have seen them oppositely circumstanced) are very indifferent Subjects for the natural Disease, and prove difficult, in Proportion, for Inoculation; tho' having emerged, I have really seen a sensible Improvement of their Constitutions. Of both this Difficulty and this Improvement I had a Conviction in the Case of a Youth, from *America*, about two Years past: and whom, to my Reproach I confess, I did not apprehend to have been such a Subject, 'till in his Decumbiture from Inoculation; as the young Gentleman appeared

very vegete, and free from any glandular Foulness, after a Residence of several Months in *London* (where it appeared his Health had greatly improved) whence I concluded he had been recommended, merely for Education, to the Care of a worthy and eminent Merchant here. This Gentleman however has since informed me, that upon the Youth's Embarkation from *Carolina*, he was so extremely ill and low, that his Friends never expected to hear of his living Arrival in *England*. The Youth himself assured me, in his Confinement, he had been given over more than once by Practitioners abroad; and was once actually laid out for dead: that he was sick and feverish generally six Months in the Year; and at other Times had running Ears, and Breakings out; scarcely ever sweating (tho' naturally very active when not ill) throughout their fervent Summers, when very great Heat must be imbibed; and from whence the Inaction of the *vasa exhalantia* is likely to be an extreme morbid Circumstance. But without any previous Information of his bad Situation there, he was purged here three or four Times, tho' without the least Regard to a scrophulous or hectic Habit; and gentle Physic operated very copiously with him. Neither is it strange that he should be easily stimulated to the inferior Evacuations, where the superficial one was so small; his Teguments, for the Age of near fourteen, being uncommonly thick and strong, the Pustules having been unable to protrude to the least Prominence
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in the Soles of his Feet, and but to very little in the Palms of his Hands. His Complexion was very brown. He could not be said to sicken nevertheless before the latter End of the seventh Day, when he complained of a very general Itching and Tingling, a frequent Token of copious Assimilation. His first Eruption was on the eighth, and proceeded to a very full Crop, which, upon the whole, might be called distinct, tho' it actually cohered in several Spots on the Face. Yet I can truly aver, I never saw so large a Quantity of the Disease with such mild Symptoms, scarcely a Moment's Delirium or Vomiting, and no sensible secondary Fever, his chief Complaint being great external Soreness. He had great Spirits and Patience, for his Load of the Disease: and after he was up, the scrophulous Habitude began to discover itself in different Boils and Tumours, but chiefly in some about the Neck and parotid Glands. But they all healed soon after opening and repeated Purg-
ing: he sweats freely now thro' his altered Surface, is hale and lively, and I really think a much fitter Subject for his native Country than when he left it. I very seriously apprehend he could scarcely have survived an internal Infection; which must have disposed one with such a Stock of morbid and variolous *Pabulum*, and such a Surface, to high internal and inflammatory Symptoms. His only Brother died before at *Bristol* of the natural Disease.

The Digression of this Case, which does Inoculation so much Honour, and myself so little, will be pardoned, perhaps, for the Illustration it may afford, and the Caution I hope it will recommend to others, of not acquiescing so superficially, as I did here, to present Appearances. Indeed I have indulged myself the more in this Communication, as any similar Acknowledgement, from a Name of Consequence, might tend to revive a very useful old Custom, which seems abolished by most practical Writers; and which is, that, instead of promulging their Successes only, which generally publish themselves, and in which publishing every Empiric can fully equal them, they would farther illuminate us with their Miscarriages and Mistakes also. Now as HIPPOCRATES and SYDENHAM have made, and repeated, the Precedent of attesting their proper Fallibility, which every Quack detests to copy, an Imitation of it may be doubly reconcileable with the Dignity of a Physician, and would entirely comport with that of a Philosopher. But if the Dread of less Fame or Money should deter Gentlemen of extensive Opportunities in Practice, from obliging Mankind with such valuable *Desiderata*, during their Lives, a private Memorandum faithfully kept (if that would not cost too much Time) and annexed to their last Wills, might entitle a Multitude of their Survivors to valuable Legacies.—But to return from these *seria mixta joci*: —

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All eruptive and cutaneous Disorders, that deserve the Name of a Disease, in general seem to constitute a State improper for this Operation. Thus Dr. JURIN annexes, to the Account of Miss WALLER's Death, who was inoculated in *October* 1723, and died the eighteenth from the Operation, the Attestation of her Father, that she was leprous. Thus Miss ACOURT of four Years old, inoculated September 1723, who died the twenty-second from the Incisions, is attested to have been subject, in her Infancy, to an Ophthalmy in both Eyes; and, as she advanced, to a Humour that made her raw from Ear to Ear, which abated on purging and cutting an Issue, but still broke out again Spring and Fall. She had some of these Excoriations three Weeks before the Operation, but her Issue was suffered to dry by the Nurse's Neglect, which must have been a bad Circumstance; since we may presume of eruptive Matter, *qua data porta ruet*.

All inflamed or ulcerated *Viscera* must certainly contraindicate Inoculation; since we may too justly apprehend a topical Exasperation there from the Disease. A Jaundice and all hepatic Disorders should particularly deter us from it. Miss ROLT aged between nine and ten, who was inoculated September 1723, and died nine Weeks after it, had a Jaundice of six Months Duration the Year before, which appeared again the following Spring, but was cured before the Operation. All inveterate Ulcers, whose Obstinacy is founded on a morbid Dyscrasy of the Humours, indicate the
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effectual Cure of such Dyscrasy, before Inoculation. Hot and hectic Habits must prove bad Receptacles of this inflammatory *Virus*, while they continue such. The Scorbutic, but particularly if of a hot Temperament, must be improper: and all venereal Complaints, if we except a meer Gleet from Relaxation, without Virulence, should be removed previous to Inoculation, the most judicious Cure of which may prove no bad Preparation for it, if the Strength has not been too considerably depressed by the Evacuations. And even notwithstanding that extraordinary one by Salivation, Dr. MEAD affirms (1) he has seen many in an Hospital so exhausted by it for the Great Pox, that they were reduced almost to Skeletons, and yet all went very easily through the Small.

The Disorders that appear not so formidable for the Admission of this Practice are such, as depend on an over-moist Habit and lax Fibres. Thus it is not inconceivable, that a slight recent Catarrh from a little Check of Perspiration, and some cold Defluxions on the Joints (supposing the *Viscera* entirely unaffected) might be even diverted, by the Counter-tendency of this Disease to the Surface; and by the augmented Perspiration it may afterwards contribute to. Incipient *Oedemas* of the lower Extremities (supposing them not the Effects of any Rupture in the Lymphatics, nor one of the last Symptoms in some fatal chronical Disorders) but the Result of a languid Circulation, a cold and pituitous Mass, or
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(1) De Variol. P. 71.

lax Fibres, might be rather corrected by it. There appears to be a certain Incompatibility in some Diseases, which renders it difficult to conceive their possible Existence, at the same Time, in the same Subject. Thus BOERHAAVE, I think, somewhere tells us, that if we could introduce a Quartan, we should expel the Gout by it: and perhaps a late Recovery from such a moderate Intermittent as had left no Infarctions of the *Viscera* behind it, might constitute a Temperament, that would not violently co-operate with the variolous Infection. I mention this the rather, as I have certainly known Adults pass thro' the Small Pox very favourably, soon after the former. In brief, the Disorders from a cold and humid Intemperies would by no Means deter me equally from this Mode of Infection, with those from the opposite one. Whence it should seem, as if Dr. WILLIS's Observation, ' that the variolous Poison does not act on the vital Humours like Yeast on fermentable Liquors, by depurating them, but leaves them rather fouler than it found them,' should be limited to a hot Intemperies of the Blood and Habit, and restrained from the contrary one; which can scarcely ever be increased, and has been corrected, by it. We repeat, at the same Time, that we are by no Means prescribing Inoculation to any that may be called sick or ailing; which we have already censured as rash and injudicious, and sometimes it seems to have been enterprized with equal Ignorance and Perverseness. Nevertheless, in a pro-
fessed

ferred Analysis of the Subject, it might have been judged a material Defect to have omitted the different Habits and Circumstances, that might more or less either dispose us to, or deter us from, the Application of it: and more particularly, as this Part has some necessary previous Relation to the Preparation of different Constitutions for this Disease, and for the Operation introductive of it, to which we now directly proceed.





SECTION IX.

Of Preparation previous to Inoculation.

THE Title of this Section may appear, at first View, to include an Impropriety, in placing it thus subsequently to some others, and particularly to that of the Operation, which the Subject of this is premised to. But as it seemed proper to evince the comparative Advantages of Inoculation, in order to a chearful Admission of it; to specify the fittest Seasons of Life and of the Year; and to distinguish the most promising and discouraging Subjects of it, before we entered on Preparation, which, it is conceived, must be judiciously varied, in Respect of such different Circumstances, we think it may succeed such previous Disquisitions consequentially enough.

Some Persons have reposed such an entire Confidence in this Infection, by Incision, as to deny the Necessity, or even Usefulness, of any Method preparatory to it; whence it may be presumed several have been inoculated with little or none, a great Majority of whom have certainly done well. And indeed, to be impartial, as the natural

tural Infection is generally received unconsciously, where we can seldom suppose any preparatory Precaution, there is no Doubt but the meer Circumstance of admitting the Contagion by one or more Incisions on the Extremities, instead of referring the Manner of its Access to Chance, will be attended with considerable Advantages in many Instances; supposing the Inoculated to have submitted to no other Precaution, than that of living temperately, and having carefully avoided natural Infection. On the other Hand it seems but reasonable to enquire, whether there may not be certain Means of extending these Advantages to a still greater Number, and to a more certain Degree of Security in particular Constitutions and Circumstances. And if the Affirmative of this should appear highly probable, it will be ridiculous to deliberate, whether we should avail ourselves of this greater Security on so interesting, so vital, a Point. Now that different Bodies are differently disposed for the Reception and Issue of this Disease: that the same Bodies are variously disposed for it at different Times, and under different Circumstances: and that a judicious Exertion of medical Knowledge may remove some unpromising Appearances for it in different Constitutions; and frequently mitigate, at least, very alarming ones, are Propositions that must appear to resolve themselves affirmatively at once, to every unprejudiced Reflector. Some of the Objectors to Preparation may possibly have commenced such, from the supercilious and over-laboured

bour'd Formality of some Physicians in the Regulation of it: and doubtless there may have been Errors committed on this Occasion, both from our dignified Ignorance, and our operose Endeavours to conceal it; which we sometimes may too effectually do, even from ourselves: so that where a Subject should require a more exquisite Preparation than general Temperance and a little opening Physic, or Bleeding, from a manifest sanguine *Plethora*, the rest had better be submitted to the Oeconomy of Nature, than to the Conduct of a weak Head, of whatever medical Class or Appellation. But having admitted this, may it not be suggested, with equal Probability, that others have slighted Preparation, from a Consciousness, that where a very appropriate one was really necessary in particular Cases and Situations, their Qualifications for it were but moderate?

If we recur to the great RHAZES, our first Author on this Disease, for a *Latin* Translation of whom the World is much obliged to the good Offices of Dr. MEAD, we shall find his Chapter, Of Preservation from the Small Pox, to exhibit a very just and rational Idea of it; as the greatest Part of his very cooling prophylactic Method would be an excellent Preparation for it, in a hot bilious Temperament, in Summer. TIMONI says, 'the Patient to be inoculated is to take Care of his Diet; and that the Custom at *Constantinople* is to abstain entirely from Flesh and Broth for twenty or twenty-five Days.'

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PYLARINI informs us, ‘ the *Grecian* Inoculatrix enjoined a good *Regimen* as to the six Non-naturals, especially Diet; for she strictly forbade not only the Use of Wine and Meat, but also of its Broth for forty Days.’ He adds, ‘ it has very often proved fatal to such Patients, as did not follow this Direction; for new Pustules have been observed to break out, and other dangerous Symptoms to arise.’ This greater Accuracy, on this important Point, was most prudently inculcated by this judicious Physician: and we may safely affirm, it has been generally observed by our most rational Conductors of Inoculation in *Europe*. Neither can we hesitate, on the Subject of Preparation, to have a principal Regard to the dietetic one.

The Alterations effected in our Fluids and Solids by our Diet are gradual, and without that Violence to the Constitution, which it sometimes suffers from the Operation of very efficacious Medicines: For tho’ the Assertion may seem novel, it is certain, that all Things we take internally, which are indigestible and unassimilable by us, are Poisons, in some Degree; and prove Remedies but by Accident, in Consequence of their evacuating some Humour, correcting some Dyscrasy, or removing some Obstruction, more chronically and importantly morbid than their own Substance and Operation, which are sensibly so for a short Time. This Distinction appears reconcileable enough with the Reason of that Aphorism

rism that says, (a) ' If the morbidic Humours
 be evacuated, [supposing them concocted too] the
 Patient is relieved, and bears the Evacuation well,
 otherwise not.' Whence Evacuations are gene-
 rally contraindicated where there are not such Hu-
 mours; except a dangerous Plenitude even of good
 ones, in certain Habits and Circumstances, should
 render them precautionary and discreet, according
 to a former Precept. (1) But as a Body with-
 out morbidic Humours, abstracted from this Dis-
 ease, and without such a Plenitude, may be of a
 very suspicious Habit with Regard to the Recep-
 tion of the variolous *Virus*; that a Course of
 such Aliment as is productive of a different Chyle
 (with a corresponding Diversity in its subsequent
 Commixtions, Appositions and Secretions) may
 often commute, or mitigate, such Habit, is rea-
 sonable, and verified by Experience. I can have
 little Doubt myself, but that the general Way
 of living, in any Country, co-operates with
 the Climate and Situation to compound, and evi-
 dently to mark, what may be called, the national
 Constitution and Temperament; whatever Subdi-
 versities may obtain in many of their Individuals:
 tho' I conceive the very same kind of Aliment to
 be elaborated, by one Constitution, into Blood
 of a somewhat different *Crafs* and Composition,
 from what it would be in others. Nevertheless,
 as a different, and opposite, Diet would occasion,

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under

(a) 'Ην οἷα δεῖ καθαίρειν καθαίρωνται, συμφορεῖ, τε καὶ ἀφο-
 ρως φέρει· ταὶ δὲ ἐναντία, δυσχερῶς. L. 1. Aph. 25.

(1) See L. 1. Aph. 3.

under the Action of the same Organs, a greater Diversity of the Blood, than would result from a strict Similarity of Diet under different human Organizations, that Course of it, that is antiphlogistic and restrictive of Fermentation in one Body, will be, tho' probably in different Degrees, so in all; abstracted from a few Sympathies or Disagreements in Food, which are rare, and out of the Question. Could we as exactly foretell any other acute Disease a Month or six Weeks before its inevitable Attack, as we can this, after Inoculation is resolved upon, I cannot doubt but a Physician, well versed in such Disease, and in the *Medicina dietetica*, might so dispose the Habit and Temperament of a regular Patient, as to give him a better Prospect of his Recovery, than he could have done without it. And yet we do not seem to have as competent a Notion of the inherent *Fomes* of any acute Disease, as we may form of this; which suggests such a Diet as may dispose our Fluids to their State in lively active Children; as far as that State may be consistent with a healthful *Crisis* of it, for the Patient's Time of Life. In fine the sagacious HIPPOCRATES has been very accurately attentive to the most important Article of Diet. He supposes an Observation of the different Quantity and Quality (a) proper for the Sick (which we endeavour to modify and extend here to those about

(a) Ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ, ὅπερ ἐν ἀρχῇ εἶπον, εἰδ' ἀν' ἐπιθεῖναι δοκεῖ
ἐν τῇ κλινῇ εἶδεις, εἰ ταῦτα Διαιτηματὰ τοῖσι τε καμνέουσιν καὶ τοῖ-
σιν ὑγιαίνουσιν ἡσυχάζειν. De prisca medicina.

about to be such) to have started the first Hint towards the Discovery of the medical Art; and his Directions for it in Fevers are found consonant to almost universal Experience at this Day.

Nevertheless, tho' we allow this just Precedence to dietetical Preparation, as many will need very little more; and young mild Subjects, who are presumed to be generally kept to a temperate dilute one, if free from Worms, cuticular Foulnesses, and otherwise healthy, will need none at all: yet in suspicious Habits, and adult Years, the Aid of Medicine may be very generally necessary. Considerable Things have doubtless been effected in some chronical Disorders almost wholly by Diet; but then the Perseverance has been chronical too; and where we propose a much shorter Term for Preparation, we must be obliged, in some Cases, to use more expeditious Measures. Besides, where the Obstacles are very considerable, the properest Diet may become too familiar to effect all we desire; which sometimes happens from the over-familiar Use even of Medicines, that appeared efficacious at first.—But to come to Particulars:

It is manifest, that whoever is resolved to inoculate Children at the Breast, will have no need to think of a dietetic Preparation for them (provided they have not been so very unseasonably indulged in carnous and solid Food) and very little of any other. We will suppose their Eruptions in the Month, usually termed the *Gum*, over before the Operation; and it were desirable that their

Breast Milk were rather dilute and thin. Doubtless, whatever some Moderns may have thought, good human Milk is the most appropriate Nourishment for the Infant; though Nature has not denied us Succedaneums to it, where the Milk of the Parent, or Nurse, might disagree in particular Circumstances and Habits. But as the Nurses of griped and flatulent Infants are obliged to avoid some Vegetables, lest they should exasperate such Complaints; can we suppose the Milk of Cows, which is solely recruited from herbaceous and chiefly acescent Food, will be likelier to appease them, than that of a sober, wholesome, well dieted Woman? And yet, with Regard to this particular Disease, those who are brought up by Hand, as they call it, may not, on that Account, prove worse Subjects for it than those of equal Age and Vigour at the Breast; as the Juices of the Quadruped, who is not the Subject of it, may perhaps furnish less Addition to its *Pabulum*, than the Milk from human Fluids. Their Pap from Bread and Water, at Intervals, can be no improper Diet, the latter being the great universal Diluter, and the former a gentle Concrete from a soft vegetable Chyle or Milk, prepared for an easy Commutation into a mild animal one. Yet should such an Eruption ensue, which rarely happens at this Age, and very rarely by Inoculation in it, as to affect the Lips, Tongue and *Fauces*, the Want of that commodious and even fomenting *Apparatus*, which Nature furnished for the Suckling of the Infant, might be an important

* Disad-

* Disadvantage. We have, in a former Section, averred our Disapprobation of inoculating at this Time of Life; but if the more adventurous should risque it, it would be proper to premise a little Manna, or some other gentle Lenient, to those Children who were uncommonly costive; which HIPPOCRATES says, (a) is chiefly their Condition, who heave up their Milk the oftenest. If they have moist Ears, such Frictions should be daily used, as may prevent their drying; tho' I should consider very sore Ears and Head as contraindicatory of the Operation.

By the Time Children are weaned, especially if they are any Way advanced in the second Year, they have been too often indulged the premature Use of Flesh, and even sipping a little strong Drink. They are in a Course of Dentition more or less troublesome, and more generally subject to Worms; tho' this Disorder has been observed during the early lactescent Months in hotter Climates. We must suppose none would advise, or consent to, their Inoculation, under a painful and febrile Dentition, an actual Worm Fever, or any pregnant Symptom of abounding with Worms. But supposing none of these the Case, and the Operation (which we have given our repeated Suffrage for deferring, in general, to the Age of four or five) determined on, it may be prudent to premise a few Grains

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of

* See P. 183.

(a) 'Οκοροισι ἢ πούλυ γαλακτώδες ἀπεμύεται κοιλίη ξυγί-
σεται. De Dentitione.

Aethiops and Coralline, or some other good Vermifuge, three or four Times; then to give a Grain of Calomel over Night, to be followed in the Morning with a few Grains of Rhubarb by itself, or in a Solution of two Drachms of Manna. If the Children are advanced towards three Years, and pretty forward for that Term, the Powders may be repeated, and the Calomel increased to one Grain and a half. Pale, phlegmatic and gross Children are often the most verminously disposed, and most liable to Infarctions of the *Viscera*. It may not be amiss to shake such first, and empty their Stomachs of its excessive *Saburra*, by a very few Grains of the *Ipecacuanna*, or a Drachm and an half, or two Drachms, of the Tincture, with a little Oxymel of Squills, and half a Drop of Oil of Rue or Savin. The bitter anthelminthic Powders might be joined here to the *Aethiops*, or to powdered Tin, and their Calomel might be succeeded the following Morning with five or six Grains of Rhubarb in Tansey Water, or with *Elixir Proprietatis* from ten to fourteen Drops, which agrees remarkably with pale cacochymic Habits. The *Aethiops* seems a preferable Vermifuge in those Cases, as its Operation, at least 'till it becomes too familiar to the Constitution, manifestly extends beyond the first Passages, from its known Efficacy in the Cure of cuticular Impurities; which, if considerable from their Quantity or Irritation, should be removed before the Operation. Thus, without supposing this Medicine prophylactic of this Disease, with an industrious Writer on it, which might encourage its extravagant

gant Ingestion, we can infer a judicious Use of it, from its freeing the perspiratory Ducts and keeping up their important, but insensible, Discharge, with its own Evaporation from the Body; as it probably corrects too any exceeding Viscidity and Compactness of the Blood. A Fortnight may generally suffice for Preparation at this Age, from two to three inclusive.

When Children are advanced to six or seven, and from thence towards ten, their Diet, if not necessarily restrained by the Condition of the Parents, has for some Time consisted of no small Proportion of animal Food. Their verminous Disposition is perhaps too rather increased from their Love of any bad Fruit that falls in their Way. Here the dietetic Preparation, by abstaining from Flesh and strong Liquids, should certainly be enjoined. Where there are any Symptoms of Worms, or indeed tho' such Symptoms should be but obscure, they should take such Anthelmintics, as are appropriate to their different Temperaments; and as many of them appear pretty sanguine, and some even bilious, in this Stage, it were not amiss to purge such repeatedly with subacid cooling Laxatives, such as Manna and Cream of Tartar, genuine Glauber Salt, *Magnesia alba*, lenitive Electuary, Decoction of Senna and Pulp of Tamarinds; premising from two Grains and an half to four or four Grains and an half of Calomel, to their last Purge or two; as indeed a vermifuge Purge should also succeed their Worm Powders. It were to be

wished that their Bodies should be rather moist and open the whole Term, or at least the last Week of Preparation. This may be easily effected, by allowing a few fresh Prunes raw or stewed without Senna, which, with their vegetable Diet, will sufficiently answer the Purpose. We are told by RHAZES, that the cool and more acid Fruits, as *Rhus*, or Sumach Berries, Pomegranates, unripe Grapes, and the like, which were even acerb, prevented the Blood from being so fermentable by the Disease; and we know that Acids are the natural Correctors of Bile. Whether those however, which amount to Acerbity, may not by Accident accumulate the Bile by constipating the Belly may be questioned; tho' their immediate Quality were antibilious. The ripe Fruits, at least the Summer Fruits, of this Climate are rarely chargeable with this Quality; and particularly our ripe Currans, or their Jelly moderately sweetened, might be pretty freely allowed such Temperaments. I should, for my own Part, be for puking the Bilious, even at this Age, to prevent any Infarction of those Vessels, which secrete that Humour from the Blood; and keep their Bodies moderately soluble afterwards, to prevent any probable Regurgitation of it from its Turgescency in the Gall-Bladder, or its Accumulation in the Ducts. With Regard to Worms, it may be reasonable to suppose in general, that Bodies of this Temperament are less obnoxious to them, and the hotter Anthelmintics less appropriate for them, if they were. Dr.

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NETTLETON says, he observed such as were vomited previously to Inoculation had the kindest Eruption and Symptoms : but probably this might at least depend as much on their different Portions of the variolous *Pabulum*, which we have suggested may subsist most copiously in bilious Habits ; whence Vomiting will be particularly indicated in such.

With Regard to a preparatory Bleeding in this Stage of Life, we think it can only be adviseable, when there is a very manifest sanguine Plenitude. RHAZES indeed, in his Chapter of Preservation (many of the prophylactic Rules in which may be judiciously varied into preparatory ones, and were, not improbably, intended by him for such, from an Apprehension of subsequent Infection) says generally, that Blood should be taken from such Boys and Youth, * as had not had the Disease. He recommends the taking it, by Venesection, from those of fourteen ; and by Cupping, from those under it ; adding, that their Chambers should be cooled. This last Precaution was manifestly adapted to his own Climate, and may admit of a rational Qualification in ours, where the Blood is less generally subject to Expansion and Effervescence. At the Age of seven, or even to ten, a previous Bleeding would seldom be necessary with us ; some unusual sanguine Plenitude may render it prudent, and I should prefer Cupping here. In this and the next Stage the young Patients are subject to over-heat themselves

* The *Latin Translation* has it, *pueris et juvenibus*.

selves by extraordinary Action and Exercise, which should be avoided with Care previously to Inoculation, and still more after it, particularly if the Weather be tepid. I am repeatedly convinced, that any extraordinary Conturbation of the Blood from long external Heat, or violent Motion, may act to as material an ill Effect, as if too much strong Liquor, or an inflaming Meal had been ingested. Besides one Instance of this, which I have * already given, Mr. GOLDWYER, an eminent Surgeon at *Salisbury* informs me, that one of the four, who failed by Inoculation there lately, was a healthy young Woman of twenty-three Years, who, unknown to the Apothecary that inoculated her, had heated herself over a great Fire two or three Hours, and immediately shifted, just before the Operation. This unhappy Conturbation of the Blood, meerly from great Agitation, (in which it resembles other fermentable Fluids) without the Ingestion of any new Matter, is not without some Analogy to its Infection from an Imagination surprized and hurried at the Appearance of a lately variolous Subject, after it was reasonable to suppose an entire Evaporation of the infecting *Effluvia*. But to return — If pure Water had been their Drink hitherto, it were well to continue it. To others very clear sweet Whey, when procurable, with or without any of the temperate cooling Plants, may be pretty freely allowed. And light Small-beer
neither

* See P. 210.

neither too stale nor flatulent, may be indulged those who have been accustomed to it. All Cheese should be avoided as much as Meat at all Ages; if they have been used to much Butter, the Quantity should be lessened, and it should be recent and well-tasted. Where the Milk they use is rich and undiluted, a third or fourth Part of pure Water should be added; more especially if the Patients are remarkably sanguine and young; as considerable Hæmorrhages by the Nose often happen to such in the *Apparatus* of the Disease; which, tho' not very formidable in that *Stadium* to the Physician, may frighten the Patient or his Friends: in which Circumstance, by the Way, it will be proper to withhold all vinous Milk Poffets, Milk Porridge, and even Milk and Water: allowing Barley Water plain, or very gently acidulated, if the Bleeding should be very profuse.

But with Regard to the Quantity of their Food before sickening, supposing the Quality well regulated, and their Appetites short of voracious, I should not be for stinting them (tho' it may be prudent that Supper should be a moderate Repast) and particularly in the early Stages of Life, when (a) Fasting is least wholesome and tolerable. Dr. NETTLETON complains of the ill Effects of too low a previous *Regimen*, and particularly in the first Stage of the Distemper. And indeed we might apprehend that Constitu-
tions

(a) Νησειν φερσι ἥκιστα μερακία, πάντων δ' ἡ μάλιστα παι-
δια. L. 1. Aph. 13.

tutions naturally mild with Regard to this Disease, may be rendered, by too depressing a *Regimen* previous to it, more obnoxious to nervous Symptoms and Insults on the Invasion of it; to which if a competent Fever should not supervene, Eruption might be unhappily delayed, or even fatally intercepted. The Purpose and Scope of Preparation is to remove or lessen the inflammable *Diathefis* of the Blood, and the extreme Tension of the Solids; but not to depress the *Vis vitae*, especially in this, or the preceding Stages of Life. And indeed it may happen here and there, that a Person, at any Term of Life, tho' not actually morbid, may be naturally of so low a Constitution, from an over lax Fibre, and a Languor of the chylifying and nutritive Faculty, that he would prove an improper Subject for this Operation, before he had received some Invigoration from an eupeptic, restoring and even reasonably generous Diet. It will abundantly follow then, that where the Patients in these early, or in any subsequent Stage, have the plainest Signatures of a naturally mild and less inflammatory Habit, a lighter and less operose Preparation may be judicious. Repeated unnecessary Purging, especially with the stronger Cathartics, may render a Blood naturally soft and balsamic, too sharp and acrid, a State we would gladly remove: tho' there may be no injudicious Use of such in particular sluggish and cacochymic Habits. If Children, within the Term we have been treating of, have been used but to a small Proportion of
animal

animal Food, a shorter Abstinence from it may be sufficient: so that three Weeks in some, and four in others, may be a convenient Term for their Preparation.

But on the full Approach, and thro' the Progress, of Puberty, to the Height and Vigour of Life, the Case is greatly altered; especially with Regard to those who were naturally ill disposed for the Small Pox; and still more particularly, if they have much indulged in the Intemperance too habitual with many in these Stages. I have little Doubt but Numbers, thus circumstanced, surrender to the natural Infection, who might have emerged thro' even that in the preceding Stages. In Fact the ingenious physical Suggestion of our most elegant ethic Poet, That

—— *Man, perhaps, the Moment of his Breath
Receives the lurking Principle of Death:
The young Disease, that must subdue at length,
Grows with his Growth, and strengthens with his
Strength.*

Seems as just, with Regard to the *Fomes* of this Distemper, as of any other. As the Anticipation of this long and perilous Term then, by an early Inoculation, when a lighter Restraint and Preparation might be generally sufficient, was truly eligible for those, who were subject to this Disease, and must be exposed to it; so in such as have pretermitted it, and are equally exposed, as its greater Necessity seems abundantly inculcated
from

from the greater Havock of the natural Disease throughout the Vigour of Life, a judicious and accurate Preparation for it is strongly indicated from the same Motive. For tho' some Persons from twenty even to forty may be better Subjects than others were from five to ten, or indeed ever were, this is not taking the Matter as generally as we purpose it; but descending to the Cases of Individuals, which will often have such particular Circumstances, as must be referred to the Consideration of their most intimate Physicians, who must be, *caeteris paribus*, their best. To abate and mollify then the extended inflammable *Pabulum* in suspicious Habits, at suspicious Times of Life, we should propose at least six Weeks as the *Greeks* do, and, where it was practicable, two Months, in some Situations, might be still better. The Mitigation of this connate *Fomes*, which has been strengthened by Time, expanded with Accretion, and even invigorated by Health (abstracted from all the Contingences of different Climates and Excesses) is undoubtedly difficult: it favours of an Attempt to alter the specific Constitution and *Stamina* of the Patient, and calls for all the Caution, as well as Knowledge, of the Physician: since these can be bent or altered only to a certain Degree, without a morbid Consequence, to avoid which, the Alteration must be gradual. *Hic labor hoc opus est.* There may, without Exaggeration, be some Difficulty in misconducting the milder Subjects of the Small-Pox, thro' the ordinary Progress

gress of it by Inoculation. The oeconomical Functions of Nature are so perseveringly right in certain Habits and Circumstances, that Perversity, as well as Ignorance, becomes necessary to an effectual Opposition of them. Such Situations may be justly compared to those (a) gentle Seasons and smooth Waters, in which HIPPOCRATES observes, the Helm may be committed to an indifferent Pilot; while the opposite Circumstances of adult Age and inflammable Constitutions will correspond to his Storms and Billows, that require the utmost Address of the most experienced; and expose that Ignorance of the unskilful, which the fine Weather had concealed. And yet in such critical Circumstances every ingenious and experienced Physician, who has considered this Matter well, may have sufficient Reason to infer, that on availing his Patients of all good Circumstances, Persons naturally of unpromising Temperaments, and less convenient Ages for the accidental Disease, may have a reasonable Expectation of passing very tolerably thro' that by Inoculation. If he is very sanguine, he should undoubtedly be bled early, and pretty freely, yet so as to avoid too great and sudden a Depression: if he is still more intensely sanguine, with deep red or purpurascent Bumps in the Coun-

(a) Ἐπει δὲ πολλοὶ γε τῶν ἰητρῶν ταῦτα μοι δοκεῖσι τοῖσι κακοῖσι κυβερνηταῖς πασχεῖν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνοι ὅταν ἐν γαλήνῃ κυβερνῶντες ἀμαρτανῶσιν, ἢ καταφανέες εἰσιν· ὅταν δὲ αὐτοῖς καταλαβῇ ἀνεμὸς τε μέγας, καὶ χεῖμων, φανερώς ἤδη πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποισι δι' ἀγνοσίῃ καὶ ἀμαρτίῃ δῆλοι εἰσιν ὑπολεσάντες τὴν γαῖαν. De prisca Medicina.

Countenance; and particularly if these are chargeable to hard Drinking (which is not constantly the Case) bleeding should be repeated, such a Blood being generally very pregnant with the variolous *Fomes*. This we are endeavouring to lessen, to dilute and lower the inflammable Principles of what remains; and to substitute, by a proper Aliment, such a soft and simple Chyle, as should conduce to a less irritable and irritating *Cruor*. If he has been remarkably fond of Flesh-Meats, and even indulged on such Suppers, he may be allowed for the first Week, to make the Alteration more gradual, white Meat once every other Day. It were undoubtedly to be wished he could entirely abstain from strong Liquor: but if from long Habitude he should prove languid, and seem to concoct less for Want of it, one Glass may be permitted after Dinner. The second Week he should begin to abstain wholly from Flesh, but may add every other Day, a Whiting, fresh Water Flounder, or such light simple Fish, to his vegetable Dinner; and an equal Quantity of Water to his Glass of Wine after Dinner, if it is still too irksome to take an entire Leave of it, 'till his Recovery from the Disease. His Diet from hence should be entirely vegetable; his Drink no stronger than good light Table Beer. His Puddings should not be over-stiff, nor crammed with Eggs. Fruit Pyes and Tarts may be allowed, reasonably sweetned: most Vegetables, the hot and acrid (as raw Onions, Cresses, Mustard) excepted, are very proper:

proper: but particularly, if good mellow Turneps and succulent Spinage are in Season, they are either very excellent and appropriate in themselves, or I am much prejudiced in their Favour on this Occasion. If good Vinegar be not disagreeable, the moderate Use of it is not like to be inconvenient. The cooling Salads, with a Mixture of Cellary are not amiss. Young open Spring Cabbage and Sprouts seem preferable to close, heavy, large Cabbage, which may have attracted a considerable Proportion of animal Sulphur and Salt into their Substance from their ordinary Compost, during their long Vegetation, as the strong Smell of their Decoction seems to indicate. Such a Savour may certainly result, in some Degree, from the essential Quality of the Plant; tho' in the hotter Climates, where their Texture is more rarefcent, and their Perspiration greater, their Sapour is sensibly milder, their Odour less indelicate. Yet, when the Sprouts and Spring Cabbages are not to be had, as the other well-boiled are apt to keep the Belly soluble, they may be allowed sometimes. I was once inclined to hesitate, upon the same Principle, whether Asparagus, from its known diuretic Quality and Alteration of the natural Smell of Urine, should be very freely indulged in on this Occasion. In this Climate the Soil for it is generally furnished with a high sulphurous saline Compost, which may exalt this Effect of it, without superadding a new Quality, or altering the essential Nature of the Plant from that of

the indigenous, which is said to abound on the Banks of the *Euphrates*: tho' some Persons who admire this Plant, remote from *London*, are said to be averse to it here, as stronger and less palatable. But whatever material Diversity this may produce, some have imagined, that particular Salts, conveyed into the Humours, prove attractive of the like there (from the Axiom of *simile simili gaudet*) which they segregate and carry off. From such a Supposition perhaps some have advised sick Persons to drink their own Urine; while others have recommended Sea-Water as a Cure for such Scurvies, as we should ascribe, in some Measure, to a muriatic State of the Blood. Now the sensible Taste or Smell of Asparagus raw or boiled has nothing of that particular Odour it superadds to human Urine: if it has produced this, in Consequence of its determining a greater Proportion of excrementitious animal Sulphur or Salt to the Organs of urinary Secretion, and left less of its own behind, this purging by Urine will rather have a Tendency to defæcate and cool the Blood. All the Passages should be free during Preparation, and the only Doubt can be, whether it may not prove so diuretic, as to evacuate too great a Proportion of the diluting *Serum*. Yet on the whole, tho' we would omit no Hint that others may improve, from a puerile Dread of Censure, it is probable the Matter is hardly worth a Litigation; and, where Asparagus is liked, it may be used with sufficient Safety, as a soft palatable Muci-

Mucilage, and a pleasant Variety in this limited Diet: by which, tho' we do not propose any sensible Depression of the Patient's Strength, we aim at a Mitigation of it; and to add such a Dose of Alloy to the Metal, as may render it more ductile and tractable.

This Kind of *Regimen* will often dispose the Belly to be moist and soluble, and render much purging the less necessary; so that a gentle anti-phlogistic Lenient once a Week, before the Infusion, will generally be sufficient. It may be prudent however to premise a few Grains of Calomel, proportioned to the Age and Strength, to the two, and in some Instances, to the three last Lenients; by all which we would endeavour at a reasonable Discharge, without great Commotion or Sickness.

Much the same Preparation will answer for the adult bilious Patient; tho' a single Bleeding may suffice here, particularly where the Habit is dry withal. But a Day or two after the Bleeding a moderate Vomit should be enjoined with plentiful Dilution; and if it terminated in a Stool or two it would not be the worse. He may conveniently indulge in the acid Juices, as those of Lemon and Orange, and add the best Vinegar to his Spinage and Greens. In Adults in general, where the Teguments are rigid and thick, and Sweating is difficult, I should think the repeated Use of tepid relaxing Baths, after the former general Evacuations, and upon empty Stomachs, would bid very fair to be of great Service. Such

Teguments are too frequently indicative even of a bad internal Disposition for the Disease, as they are certainly a bad external Circumstance for it. Dr. HAHN justly observes, that the (a) different Texture of the Skin in different Nations and Families is an adequate Reason for the different Severity of the Disease; and a chief Cause that some entire Families are deformed by the Scars of the confluent Small Pox. RHAZES recommends swimming in cold Water among his other Prophylactics, which with us might prove a better Preservative than Preparative: and in this Climate, where we do not propose to select our only swimming Season for that of Inoculation, it may be advantageously commuted in bad Habits for the other; where gentle and repeated Frictions will conduce to remove any cutaneous Obstructions; a subsequent dewy Perspiration will relax the Teguments, and further clear the Ducts; and where a Quantity of pure Element, repeatedly infused by the *vasa inhalantia* may considerably dilute and attemper the Mass; and thus dispose the Fluids and Solids, as far as we can without Violence, into the young and ductile State. The Bilious should indulge the least in Milk, Butter or Sweets. RHAZES nevertheless recommends, among his Preservatives, Butter-Milk; and where it

(a) Atque in tali, tot, et multo pluribus modis variante cutis fabrica, qua nationes a nationibus, familiae a familiis distant, potissimam variolosae difficultatis culpam residere arbitror; et saepe solam et sufficientem rationem, cur integrae familiae confluentium barbariae expositae eò condemnentur, ut etiam extralupercalia circumferant facies larvatas. *Variol. Rat.* § 96.

it does not disagree, itself and its Whey seem well adapted to cool ; and have been found particularly serviceable in some hectic Habits. He also recommended to hot Temperaments an Addition of Ice to their Water. Pure Spring Water would be equivalent here, and answer particularly in the dry, hot and bilious ; where the Adults Stomach would bear it tolerably. But the Physician employed can only be the adequate Judge of this and many other Circumstances ; and there is little Hazard of his committing any material Error in it, who has thoroughly digested the very judicious Admonition of HIPPOCRATES, in making (a) proper Allowances for the Diversities of Seasons, Climates, Age, Constitutions and Customs. I must aver, however, that, in the Course of my moderate Experience of this Affair, I have known no considerable Inconvenience, but a general Melioration of Body for the Distemper, from this Transition to a fluid and vegetable Diet, from a common one. I have repeatedly heard those advanced in the *Regimen* confess, they were lighter and had better Spirits under it, than from their ordinary Course of Life, which might be called rather liberal than too moderate ; no slight Indication of the general salutary Effects of a light and temperate Diet. Soup-maigre, that is, without Meat, of the temperate Plants and Bread, with the fine subacid gelatinous Pulp of the ripe *Tamata* or Love-apple

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(a) Δολεον δε τι κ' τη εση, κ' τη χωρη, κ' τη ηλικιη, κ' τω
εθει. L. 1. Aph. 17.

ple, called by the Botanists *Lycopersicon*, would make an agreeable Variety, and even a palatable Regale in their Food. This reminds me of the general Diet of our *French* Neighbours, which is not ill adapted to this Disease in a bilious Temperament, to which they seem to approach a little more than ourselves; and, upon that Score, might prove more indifferent Subjects for the Small Pox: But it may be apprehended their Use of small light Wines, and very considerably diluted, of Water by itself, their Salads, their plentiful Soups, their more limited Use of Flesh, and their whole *Ratio vivendi* incline the Balance, with Respect to this Disease, in their Favour. Such a mild humecting Diet gently relaxes the Fibres and Teguments, in Consequence of its diluting the Blood. And such a State of the Teguments has been not seldom experienced to counter-operate many threatening Symptoms from a very copious Eruption: so that the Texture and Consistence of our Invelopements are often at least of equal Import, with their Complexion.

The worst Temperament for this Disease remains; which gives me some Idea of what the Antients termed the atrabilious; and which implies to me such a Shade and Darkeness of the Complexion as People commonly attribute to a black Jaundice; in which the Blood seems to be in a kind of empyreumatic State. A small Proportion of these I imagine emerge through the natural Disease: they look constitutionally morbid here, where we cannot consider the meer Climate conducive to it. An
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exquisitely instituted Inoculation must give them their best Chance, and even the most judicious one might sometimes miscarry. Considerable internal and external Humectation seems indicated here; and if we could effect a moderate Succulence of the Habit, a Tenuity of the Surface, and a little Clearness of the Complexion, it might afford a reasonable Prospect of Success. It is happy that we do not abound with Persons of this natural Dyscrasy, which generally appears too fullen and inflexible, to submit to a competent Alteration in the adult and advanced Stages, in which it seems to appear more intense too.

Preparation should be so timed and adjusted for Women and adult Virgins, that the Operation might take Place soon after the compleat Termination of the *Catamenia*. Mr. RANBY says, three or four Days after their going off; which indeed, supposing a gentle Distemper to ensue, will admit an Interval of three Weeks before their ordinary Return; a sufficient Term for the Tour of the Matter, and Revolution of the Disease. Doubtless inoculating very soon after this natural sanguinary Depletion of the Sex has a close Resemblance to the preparatory Bleeding we have recommended, in adult sanguine Patients: and in Blood proportionably pregnant with the variolous *Fomes*, the smaller Quantity of the former must contain a smaller of the last: whence the Practice is rational in itself, besides the Sanction of long Experience in its Favour. I shall however observe here, that having had a Gentlewo-

man of a full Habit and about forty, in the natural Disease, and in very hot Weather, her *Catamenia* came down in the *Apparatus*; and, as she apprehended, in their proper Course. Her Acquaintance were apprehensive of her Danger in the Small Pox, from her Habit and Time of Life. Her Complexion too was rather brown, but not an unclear one; for I think there is such a Diversity. They flowed throughout the whole Term of Eruption, which was very moderate for a natural Infection in such a Subject and Season, and she had a truly regular benign Disease.

To confess the Consequence of this Case on myself, I conceived a Hint, that as it seemed highly probable, this regular uterine Depletion consisted of variolated Blood, it might prove an adequate or considerable Cause of the moderate Eruption and kindly Disease that ensued: whence the Inference was obvious, of so timing the Inoculation of adult Females, especially where we apprehended the greatest Eruption, that the regular Descent of the *Menses* should coincide with the *Apparatus* of the Distemper. In the Conflict between Nature and Diseases, Physicians find some Occasions of judiciously declining that direct Engagement, in which they solely rely on the Strength of material Prescription; but, like prudent Generals, obtain Advantages and final Victory by Disposition and Stratagem. This medical Stratagem, nevertheless, I am unable to recommend from any further and purposed Experience, as I found the former Practice very suc-

successful, and thought of the *Spaniard's* Epitaph, who died, because he wanted to be better than well. And yet when I compare the Event of this Case with the Relation Dr. FULLER gives us of a Student at *Oxford*; who, during an epidemical Small Pox there, was seized with a cruel Pain in the Head and Back, and a *Delirium*, with the Eruption of many Pustules, pronounced to be the Small Pox by his Physician; but all which Symptoms and Appearances entirely vanished on his bleeding about two Pounds by the Nose, the Patient quickly recovering, and for thirty Years after never avoiding nor receiving the Small Pox: I say, when I recollect this Case, and the Probity of the Relator, I have wished the former Hint repeatedly experimented on proper Subjects, justly obnoxious to it, to determine if a similar Benefit should prove its general Event. And as I recollect a little Instrument for effecting a Hæmorrhage of the Nose *ad libitum*, it may be considered, whether the Application of it in sanguine Subjects, with an inveterate Head-ach, in the *Apparatus* of the Disease; or in a very early Eruption, accompanied with high inflammatory Symptoms, might be judicious, from its discharging some of the Blood in the *Carotids*, which, we imagine may be charged with the most energetic *Miasmata* of the Disease. But these, and many other Imaginations, I willingly expose to every medical Stricture and *Criterion*, for the Chance of their proving salutary to any, and improvable, or reprobable, by some

some other to my own Emolument, or Conviction.

But all Persons should be prepared, if practicable, at a sufficient Distance from infectious Scenes and Accidents; notwithstanding Multitudes have been prepared, to a very happy Event, very near, and even in, *London*, and other infected Towns in *Asia* and *America*. We had already observed the Peril and Absurdity of carrying those to be inoculated to the Houses of the Sick (as *Cassim Aga* with his Brothers and Sisters were, to * receive the Matter there) and now repeatedly inculcate it; as it must be a Satisfaction both to the Patient and Physician, to be free from all Apprehension of any natural Infection, of any Mixture, Confusion, or possible Exacerbation of the Disease from a variolous Superfætation, as some may suppose it: notwithstanding we think it must appear probable, with Regard to Inoculation, that where a very little Matter infects, the Addition of a little more, and at a subsequent Term too, is † attended with no Exasperation, nor a longer Continuance of the Distemper. To confess a bold Error perhaps, I have sometimes imagined, that Inoculation being admitted soon after an unconscious Infection, may

* It should have been elsewhere mentioned, that this Ambassador from *Tripoli* declared, that not two out of an hundred die from this Practice, but about thirty out of a hundred by the natural Infection. And in the Section of the Rise of Inoculation we should have added from him, that it is so antient in *Tripoli*, *Tunis* and *Algier*, that no Body remembers its first Rise: and that it is generally practised, not only by the Inhabitants of the Towns, but also by the wild *Arabs*.

† See the Case of the youngest Miss MATY P. 166.

may not only not exasperate its ordinary Operation; but possibly be attended with some Benefit from the Revulsion occasioned by the variolated Incisions, if they should discharge well. Persons after Inoculation are generally kept out of the Way of a subsequent Infection, which is highly prudent; tho' there will be pretty much the same *Rationale* for supposing the infected Incision to act similarly in this inverted Situation, and perhaps the more so, as their Inflammation may be more advanced. I do not however mention either of these Suppositions, as what I would ever wish to be experimented on any innocent Person; but as meer medical Suggestions, the Cru- dity of which, and of many others, Time for further Reflection, with the divine Permission, may convince me of.

It were superfluous to mention Abstinence from salted Flesh during Preparation, when Abstinence from Flesh-meat, and more particularly from all such as use to be salted, has been affirmed necessary. But it may be asked, if Salt itself is allowable with the humid and vegetable Diet enjoined then. We have already evinced, * that the fixed Salt of the human System is, in Effect, marine esculent Salt, and distinct from that volatile alcalious one, supposed particularly inflammable and variolescent. The former is probably never volatilized by the Sun from the saltiest Parts of the Ocean in the hottest Climates; and raised from the *Caput mortuum* of human Blood and Urine, not without a calcining Heat; while the
vola-

* See P. 44.

volatile Salt and Sulphur of dead Bodies very soon and perceivably take Wing, without any chemical Process, in hot Weather. I cannot learn that Sailors, whose Bodies must be considerably saturated with this fixed Salt, are more obnoxious to the high and mortal Degrees of the Small Pox, than Landsmen of the same Age and Temperament. Doubtless it may have a Tendency to induce that Rigidity of the Solids, which appears an unfavourable Circumstance for an eruptive inflammatory Disease: but it may deserve our Reflection, whether its Resistance of Fermentation and Putrefaction may not counterbalance, and often outweigh, such an Inconvenience. Some Proportion of it has certainly its material Uses in the human System, or we had never, from the earliest Accounts of Time, had so general an Appetency for it. The *American* Indians are said, when without this Commodity, to supply the Want of it with the Ashes of Oak and Hickory; which should seem but an indifferent Exchange for it, in those preparing for Inoculation. And the Deer and Buffalo of *America* certainly have a Taste or Instinct, by which they discover saltish Soils, where they recur to lick the Earth, and leave plain Marks of it; the Hunters frequently besetting them at such Haunts. Other Quadrupeds, into whose Food it does not ordinarily enter, are relieved from different Diseases by it: And every one who has perused the many Cases and Cures related by the learned Drs. RUSSELL, WIL-

WILMOT, FREWIN and LEWIS, in the former's Treatise *de Tabæ glandulari*, must think the Salt-water a very material Auxiliary in preparing strumous Bodies for Inoculation. But supposing the Constitution clear of every scrophulous Taint, if Salt agreed with them at other Times, such a moderate Use of it, as did not dispose them to be hot and thirsty, may be allowable. The very Sanguine and Bilious might with Advantage perhaps withdraw a little of their usual Quantity at other Times, especially if they were addicted to much, and blend from fifteen to thirty Grains of pure Nitre, according to their Age, daily with it: but this will seldom be necessary in Children, never in Infants, and would be imprudent in cool low Habits.

During Preparation, and after the Infusion, it will be right to confirm the Patient in the best Opinion of its good Effects in general, and the strongest Hopes, even to a moral Certainty, of his own going happily through it. This may be fairly done; but if the Suppression of any fatal Miscarriage, or the Extenuation of any less Misfortune from Inoculation, were ever excusable, the Encouragement of a present timorous Subject of the Operation must be the best Excuse for it. Hope is a most efficacious, tho' impalpable Cordial, which very benignly fortifies the oeconomical Functions of Nature, by a direct Application to the Mind and its vital Instruments. Nevertheless a prudent Physician will remonstrate the Necessity of some Fever, and a few

few Symptoms previous to Eruption, which so very generally happen even to the Inoculated; that his Prediction of the final good Event of it may be the better credited.

If those to be prepared have any Issue, not yet dried up, tho' it has entirely fulfilled the Purpose of its Application, and the Patient has been judged healthy enough for Inoculation, the Issue should not be suffered to incarn and cicatrize, but be gently touched with the variolous Matter, when another Incision, if another shall be thought prudent, is made and infected: since this new Stimulation of an old Sore may be apt to quicken the Rout of the Humours to a Part they have been accustomed to.

Thus much concerning variolous Preparation, with Regard to the different Ages and Temperaments; to which we shall add, that such a very latently perverse Subject for this Disease may sometimes, however rarely, present in any of them, as to discredit the best concerted Operation: For tho' we have sufficient Marks and Signatures for distinguishing, in general, the Circumstances and Appearances favourable or unfavourable to Inoculation; yet as the Discernment of the most Sagacious is no ways intuitive; and the most seemingly well constituted Body may have some Peculiarity of Texture in the Solids, of *Crisis* in the Fluids, or of Conformation in some organical Part, concealed from us, but discoverable by this penetrating Disease, a Miscarriage may occur once in a thousand Instances, where the most Saga-

Sagacious could not have expected it. But this is no more than what occurs, on different Occasions, in the Application of the best Means, under the best human Direction. It has a Tendency, as the BISHOP of *Worcester* excellently observes, to refer us to our ultimate Dependance on the SUPREME CAUSE, as it suggests our profoundest Veneration of His sole Omniscience, whose Ways are past finding out.

I cannot finish this Section without averring, I have never imagined myself prescribing any thing in it to the Conduct of my numerous Superiors in medical Erudition, Experience and Ability, wherever resident. But as Inoculation has sometimes been crudely enterprized, and conducted too remotely from, or too independently of, the Influence of such : And as a principal Purpose of this Treatise is to render it equally safe and extensive, I have indeed hoped this Mite of my Experience and Reflection on the Subject might conduce to such Purpose. For to disclaim some Experience of, and considerable Reflexion on, it, must have been false and affected ; and render this Address to the Publick concerning it absurd and impertinent.





SECTION X.

*Of the Appearance and Conduct of the
Disease by Inoculation.*

BUT since the most apposite Preparation, hitherto discovered, cannot reduce the inherent Cause of this Disease to the same Quantity or Inaction; cannot bring the vascular and nervous System to the same Tone or Irritability; nor the Integuments, with the Glands and Ducts terminating in them, to the same Stricture or Laxity in all Bodies, it necessarily follows, that a different Proportion of Eruption, attended with different Symptoms, or various Degrees of the same, must happen to a Variety of inoculated Subjects. A Power of effecting the contrary were easily extendible, perhaps, to the Eradication of the inborn *Fomes* itself, whatever it may be, with all its humoral Attachments, which must render Contagion inoperative, and Inoculation superfluous. Yet tho' we find Preparation and Inoculation neither to effect this, nor to alter the essential Nature of the Small Pox; which
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if they did, the Operation might be no subsequent Protection from it, they very generally produce a great Mitigation of the Symptoms, and an Absence of such as precede the confluent Disease. The violent *Lumbago* particularly, so frequent a Fore-runner of that Confluence thro' which so few emerge, I never knew occur to the Inoculated, under the greatest Eruption it has been my Lot to see upon them. Their Pains are much oftener about the *Scapulae*, Breast, &c. and rather lassitudinary and erratic, than sharp and fixed. I have known the febrile Invasion pretty acute from Inoculation, but very rarely rise to a *Delirium*, which it often does in the natural Disease, even tho' a distinct Eruption ensues. This seems to intimate that the internal *Carotids*, and the Basillary Artery, branching into the Brain and its Membranes, are not much loaded with a very irritative infected Blood. And as the Incisions, just before sickening, always itch more than usual, and sometimes very considerably, it looks as if this external Stimulation had a particular Tendency to invite the more irritative Particles, into the more external Part of our vascular System.

It is not unusual for the Inoculated to complain at first of a Giddiness, instead of the severe Head-ach, that sometimes attends the natural Disease. A Daughter of my own, of six or seven Years old, was invaded at the usual Term after Inoculation with a slight *Vertigo*, and asked me, if People that were drunk were not so? She had
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scarcely

scarcely any other Complaint, a slight Fever, and about forty Pustules.

Children are apt to doze much before Eruption, and to have a warm dewy Moisture on their Surface, which is preparatory to Eruption, and generally a benign one. There is a frequent *Nausea* too, which terminates for a Time, in puking on drinking, or moving out of a decumbent Posture, after which they generally say they are much easier.

Such Flushings and Redness appear sometimes previous to, and sometimes a little after, Sicken- ing, as would give us dreadful Apprehensions from natural Infection: but it is very usual for them to vanish, and a placid gentle Eruption ensue. I have seen them repeatedly on the inoculated Limb; and if any Part of the Body itches at this Time, which is not uncommon, such Suffusions are apt to follow even a slight Scratch- ing, (a pretty obvious Indication of the State of the Blood then) but they commonly disappear soon, and without any ill Consequence. Such I say I have seen, but Mr. RANBY has favoured me with an extraordinary Instance on this Head.

A Child of six or seven Years sickened the sixth Day from Inoculation, with the ordinary Symptoms; but the next Day a universal Inflammation flushed out all over the Body, accompanied with a quick febrile Pulse, and a Rash, that gave it something of an erysipelatoſe Appearance. It was previous to Eruption, and terminated the third Day, before that was compleat.

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The variolous Pustules were few, and the Disease was benign. It was supposed in a former Section * the infused *Pus* might waste and expel some of the humoral *Fomes* before the actual Formation of the Disease; and that these Flushings might be one Method of effecting it. I cannot help conceiving that natural Infection must have operated violently on this Subject; and have mentioned this Case to prevent Practitioners from being greatly alarmed by any transient Efflorescences previous to Eruption.

Hæmorrhages by the Nose occur, sometimes previous to, and sometimes during, Eruption; especially if the Inoculated are adult and sanguine, or approaching towards Puberty. Such have generally a certain Tenseness in the Pulse, a Pain in the Head, and Flushings in the Cheeks previous to it; and, just before the Eruption, an Itching in the Nostrils. As it was formerly suggested, that the irregular Eruption of the *Menses* in this Stage might be variolous, perhaps it were worth trying, if the Blood from these Hæmorrhages by the Nose would impart the Small Pox.

Now during any of these Symptoms in the *Apparatus*, supposing them in no very exorbitant Degree, I apprehend a judicious Physician will prescribe nothing more than a Regulation of their usual Drinks and Spoon-meats, if they should have an Inclination to the latter, which is rarely the Case, unless the succeeding Eruption prove little. But where vinous Wheys are allowed, it may be proper to vary the Strength and Quantity of them

* See P. 173, 174.

in different Subjects and Symptoms, and to order different Drinks in some: Thus vinous Posssets and milky Drinks have already been forbid to those under Hæmorrhages, or where the Patients were very sanguine, and of that Age most subject to them. Pippin Tea, Balm Tea, and Barley Water gently acidulated, are proper for such. As I suspect the Blood from these Hæmorrhages to be variolated, and conceive no artificial one could withdraw it as specifically, no slight one could induce my Consent to bleeding, in order to check it by Revulsion. Yet if it flowed considerably, and the Patient had been some Time costive, a lenient and cooling Clyster should be injected; and this Symptom is much oftner accompanied with a dry, than moist, Belly. But if any Pustules had appeared and did not subside, or greatly lose their Colour, and the Pulse was not low or intermitting, the Discharge would seldom be menacing. An * Instance has been given, even after Eruption, where it dissipated that, and judged the Disease, as the *Greeks* phrase it. The same Discharge before Eruption had perhaps prevented it.

I have rarely met with a positive Indication for Bleeding in the *Apparatus* by Inoculation, where the Patient had been judiciously prepared for it. If a raging *Delirium* however should arise (which is very unusual, and should carefully be distinguished from a light wandering one) a vehement Pain in the Head, inflamed Eyes, the Patient being of a sanguine Complexion, adult, or ap-

* See P. 249.

approaching towards Puberty; and no such Itching of the Nose, as pretty certainly presaged an imminent Hæmorrhage, Bleeding should be directed, and the Foot certainly preferred for it: after which dry Frictions will be likely to invite a Plenitude of the Vessels, and an open perspiratory State of the Integuments there, which loose Flannel, or Worsted Stockings may further conduce to; unless the Heat of the Weather should make them rather inconvenient, from their increasing the Heat of the whole Body too much, and thence inclining a larger Proportion to the Head.

If the *Nausea* and Puking be moderate, and accompanied with little Orgasm, I should scarcely recommend a Vomit; or only some warm Water, or light Green Tea to dilute, and discharge the irritating Contents of the Stomach. I am apprehensive that too unguarded a Recourse to them may tend to press up an extraordinary Proportion of the stimulating Blood to the Brain. And yet if the Patients were bilious, the Contents puked up considerably so, and somewhat viscous withal, like the Yolk of an Egg; I should be for directing a Puke of Ipecacuanna, or its Tincture and Oxymel of Squills, with reasonable Dilution in the Operation, which would be the better, if it terminated in a free Stool. But, very generally speaking, this will not be indicated from Inoculation; and to confess, what may be erroneous perhaps, I have a further Suspicion of that Commotion, which may ensue from a Vomit in this

critical Effervescence of the Blood. The Evacuation, abstracted from such Commotion, where bilious, must be serviceable. But a moderate *Nausea* and Puking generally vanish upon the earliest Eruption.

Opiates are rarely indicated before Eruption is compleat, and should not be given, (which has been already mentioned) 'till indicated from considerable Soreness, slow Suppuration, obstinate Wakefulness, and a *Delirium* from Want of Rest. If the Patient had formerly taken any, their Agreement or Disagreement with him should be previously known. And this may suffice for the Appearance and Treatment of the ordinary Symptoms of the Small Pox by Inoculation; when the Impressions of the *Virus* are chiefly exerted on the Blood, and thence on its Vessels. But when very different Appearances result from its Confinement to the nervous System, an opposite Conduct must be equally rational.

It is one advantageous Circumstance of Inoculation, that whatever Symptoms succeed about the ordinary Term of sickening after it, we run next to no Hazard of mistaking their Cause, which we might, if arising from an unsuspected Infection. But a Mistake of it in nervous Symptoms might happen more easily, and fatally too, than from inflammatory ones: as most People, and even some Physicians, are too apt to recur to Bleeding in all Convulsions, without attending to the various, and even opposite, Causes on which they may depend; and Bleeding in the former Symptoms might be truly pernicious. We

We had already observed * the contrary Practice of SYDENHAM in such convulsive Insults, by giving a Cordial and applying a Blister, which is doubtless preferable. And yet in my present Sentiments, where I found a competent Fever with a pretty firm Pulse, which did not exist before the Convulsion, succeed to it; I should be apt to suspend the immediate Application of the Blister, from a Supposition that the Convulsion had done its Office, and exploded the variolous *Miasmata* from the Brain and Nerves into the Blood; the heterogeneous Texture of such *Miasmata* in their Cavities seeming no inadequate Cause of such Convulsions. My eldest Son, inoculated at about eleven Years of Age, had a strong Convulsion in the *Apparatus*. As he was costive a Clyster was injected, which produced one free Stool. A smart Fever arose a little after the Fit, and exerted a large Crop of the distinct Small Pox. In the manifestly inflammatory *Apparatus* of this Disease Blisters, and hot Cordials, appear, to me, as strongly contraindicated as any Thing in the *Materia medica* can be. It seems as absurd as it would be to set a Liquor, which was ready to burst its Vessel, or waste itself in a dissipating Fermentation, by or over the Fire to restrain it. It is not denied however, that as such Convulsions generally precede the distinct Pock in Children, the Blister and Cordial are necessary, if the eruptive Fever should not soon follow; and if it did, they

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would

* See P. 80.

would be less pernicious than in a high sanguineous Infection and Orgasm, where they have too often been very erroneously applied.

But where the Patient, instead of such Convulsion (which Nature may sometimes use as an Expedient to relieve the Nerves, as she does a Fever to defæcate the Blood) lay torpid, comatose and relaxed, doubtless speedy and potent Stimulation is called for. To this Purpose a quick Emetic should be got down, to produce a particular temporary Convulsion, which, tho' a nervous Affection, may be contrasted to the former; the Benefit from the Emetic in this State being expected from its Agitation; the very Circumstance suspected in the inflammatory one, where its good Effects were expected from the bilious Evacuation. Nevertheless, if the Belly had been dry for some Days here, with a Tension of the *Abdomen* and *Hypochondria*, a warm stimulant Clyster should be injected. A sharp Blister should be applied to the Neck, or between the *Scapulae*, a generous Cordial should be given; and, if these failed to excite the Patient in a few Hours, *Solearia* of Garlick and Salt should be applied, of which I have repeatedly known the good Effects, where Stimulation was necessary. Such a Situation however is very rare by Infection in either Way: but as I have seen it I mention it, and what appears to me its most rational Treatment, if it should happen. This was by natural Infection; a very gentle Eruption ensued, and the Patient did well.

I never saw one of the Inoculated in this torpid comatose *Apparatus*; but Fits are not so unusual to them. Such a Case has been already * given, where they were very violent, and attended with the Loss of Speech for three Months, of Limbs for many more. And Mr. RANBY has lately obliged me with that of a Child inoculated at the Age of seven. Fits were the very first Symptom, which continued throughout Eruption, and during the State of Maturation too, tho' more remissly than before Eruption, which was favourable, with a moderate Fever; and tho' the Child continued weaker than usual for six or seven Weeks, it is since vegete and healthy. As I saw neither of these inoculated Patients, it is impossible for me to compare their different Quantity of Eruption and Suppuration: but as the ensuing Debility of the Nerves was of a shorter Duration in this last Case, we may suppose the Blood came in for a greater Proportion of Infection.

It has been observed in a former Section, that the secondary Fever rarely occurs by Inoculation, and that where it does, the Tumult is comparatively short and light. Such a Degree of it I have more than once seen in the more adult Subjects of this Practice; and have sometimes advised a pleasant temperate Cordial; a little genuine Canary alone, or diluted, is a very good one. In Case of a long previous Costiveness I have advised such a Clyster, as would be likely to produce

* See P. 77.

duce one free Stool, and if a second followed it might not be the worse. I should be cautious however of producing a Super-purgation at this Time, even tho' the Pustules were turned in the Face; as I have seen, and heard of, some fatal Instances of purging being encouraged then, in the natural Disease, on Dr. FRIEND's Authority I suppose, but, as I apprehend, without his Judgment. To the writing of this I never saw an inoculated Patient sink under the secondary Fever; where they have, it has probably been more intense. But as I am hitherto unacquainted with any other Medicine or Method for the Cure of this, sometimes, irremediable Symptom, than what may occur to any rational Physician; so I declare I have very often found little or no Medicine indicated throughout the artificial Disease; which, whether it promoted or retarded the Practice, might be supposed to render it very palatable, at least to the Patient. Nevertheless reiterated Purging should never be omitted after the Distemper, however contracted; except the Loss of Motion or other nervous Debilities should indicate a very different Treatment; even in which Situation a little Rhubarb might be exhibited once, or perhaps twice, merely to empty the alimentary Canal.





SECTION XI.

Of the Direction and Oeconomy of Inoculation.

THOUGH some Misunderstandings have arose between our eminent Physicians and Surgeons here, touching the specific Profession to which the Practice and Emoluments of Inoculation rightly belong; were it very clear that the Community had no Interest in the Issue of the Debate, I could gladly have declined interposing any private Sentiments on so invidious an Occasion; where the most impartial Consideration of the Matter may be likelier to disgust each Party, than to gratify either. But since we have certain Accounts that the Populace, who were at first strongly prepossessed against this Practice, and who so rarely stop at the golden Mean, are rushing into the contrary Extreme; and go promiscuously from different Distances to little Market Towns, where, without any medical Advice, and very little Consideration, they procure Inoculation from some Operator, too often as crude and thoughtless as themselves; congratulating

tulating each other after it over strong Liquor; and returning immediately to their ordinary Labour and Way of living: And since such Ignorance and Temerity cannot fail to dishonour and obstruct this (when rightly conducted) most useful Practice, by an unusual Mortality of the Inoculated, a Disquisition on the Oeconomy of Inoculation becomes seasonable and necessary.

Here then, while I endeavour at an equitable Survey of the Pretensions of the different Branches of internal and external Healing, to the sole, or conjunct, Exercise of this Practice, I shall consider them in that just Subordination to the Public Health, to which they should both be rendered as subservient as possible, and find the private Emolument of each proportioned to their Public Utility; a Point in which every good Citizen, of every Profession, must concur. As far as I am capable of penetrating into my own Intentions, I can truly aver, that identical Practice of Inoculation, which would most durably and effectually consult the Health of the whole Community, the whole Species, with Regard to this Disease, must fix my Suffrage. Nor can I discern much Merit in such a Determination, as must conduce to the inward Satisfaction, that most durable Interest, of every truly reflecting Man; who cannot be supposed to put all the Wealth and Honour, that might accrue to him throughout a precarious and fleeting Life, in Competition with the Consciousness of a diffusive Benevolence to his living

ing Species, and the Contingence of his posthumous Services to their Posterity.

It has been already premised, that the certain Author of this great Discovery had been hitherto uninvestigable; and that the first Hint might be casual, which is not improbable of that analogous Operation on Trees, from which it is named; not without a happy Resemblance between the Melioration of the Fruit and Mitigation of the Disease. As the Profession then of the Discoverer, which might be fancied to confer some Right, is uncertain, so is the Sex too. But were Possession in such a Case to infer Right, we know that a Physician or two found as many Women in the Exercise of it; the Doctors informing themselves, and us, from these Matrons, but not without some improving Hints of their own. I would by no Means infer from hence such a strict Coalition of Physic and Anility, notwithstanding a few modern Specimens of it, as to invest them jointly or severally with an exclusive Right to the Emoluments of Inoculation. But to be very serious, a Reflection on the probable Qualifications of these early female Inoculators may admonish any Persons, who are too zealous to inclose the Common, that such Zeal has a natural Tendency to lay it still more open. For if illiterate Women in *Turkey*, and Negroes in * *Africa*, can safely dispose for, effect, and conduct Inoculation, which is reasonably attested, the ob-

* See *Colman's Narrative*, P. 35.

obvious Inference will be — Who cannot? And accordingly we find the Claim not wholly dropt by Persons of both Sexes, who, in Respect of Physic, Surgery, and Pharmacy too, may be considered as utter L^aics. We have mentioned the Proprietor, who was a Planter, inoculating his 300 Slaves, at St. Kitt's, himself, *suis ipse manibus*, as Dr. MEAD says. Mr. DANIEL of South Carolina inoculated forty, of whom one mist taking. Dr. JURIN had informed us long before this, that Mrs. RINGE inoculated four at Shaftsbury, and Mrs. ROBERTS five near Leicester; nor have we the least Intimation of a single Miscarriage among them all. In brief the equal Simplicity and Success of this Practice refers a truly reflecting Mind to the Goodness of Providence, in making, what may be so often necessary, so easily attainable; and bids us especially apply to our own Species, what has been observed of the whole animal Creation — 'Nature's Children all divide her Care' — That the Procedure of human Love is ordinarily much more contracted proves the Foundation of the present Misunderstanding between the different, tho' collateral Professions; and is a Source of the frequent Want of Candour and Liberality between Members of the very same.

But having justly specified those many successful Instances of popular Inoculation, as it may be termed perhaps; if there be any Force in what we have said on the frequent Expedience, and occasional

sional Necessity, of Preparation, the Advice of some skilful and honest Auxiliary must be as frequently prudent before Inoculation; and the plain Question is, what Profession is then auxiliary? which as plainly answers itself. For tho' I have no Doubt of many sensible and experienced Surgeons or Apothecaries, preparing different Bodies to better Purpose, than as many nominal Physicians; yet this is descending to the Talents and Opportunities of Individuals, which will greatly vary; and not distinguishing the different Attainments that are the specific Objects of medical, chirurgical, and pharmaceutic Pursuits: as we must suppose, *caeteris paribus*, each Person to be most knowing in that Branch he has solely pursued. PYLARINI says, that Inoculation being duly applied, and in Bodies properly prepared by a skilful Physician, proves absolutely safe; and concludes, that this indeed should be reckoned of very great Consequence, in order to bring the Distemper to a safe and happy Issue. And doubtless a judicious medical Predisposition of the Body, to be inoculated, may often prevent the Necessity of the Physicians Attendance in the subsequent Disease; and must ease the unprescribing Surgeon, who has made proper Incisions, of all Censure, in Case of an ill *Catastrophe*.

When we are prepared however for the Operation, or judged very happily disposed for it, no one has ever contested the proper Intervention of
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the Surgeon, whose Office it undoubtedly is, notwithstanding the Facility of it. And that crude Apothecaries or Pseudo-Surgeons may have done Mischief even here, I suspect, from having known one of the latter Stamp make such an Incision for an Issue in a Gentlewoman's Leg, that it discharged a full half Pint of Blood before it could be stopt; which must have formed a notable variolous Ulcer. The Province of dressing the Incisions is plainly chirurgical: but I imagine the Number and Situation of them, since there may sometimes be Reasons for varying both, to lie with the Person, who has more particularly considered the Patients' Constitution and this Distemper: though an amicable Communication between the Physician and Surgeon on such Points appears very reasonable and decent. The inspecting the State, Constitution and Small Pox of the Subject, the Matter is to be taken from, must also be the Physician's Care; as the Surgeon is to judge of the requisite Consistence and Maturation of it. The Physician is conceived to dispose the Habit into such a temperate State, the Humours into such a bland one, as to afford a good Suppuration. This State we are to suppose the infused *Virus* gradually perverting; but as a free Discharge from the Incisions has been very generally thought serviceable, the Art of Surgery is to promote it, and chiefly in the most suspicious Subjects of the Disease; the distinguishing of which Subjects lying again upon the Physician

fician evinces the Expedience of their frank and amicable Intercourse, for the Benefit of their common Patient. Briefly, the proper Disposition of a Body for the Reception of an acute Disease is a Matter of medical Consideration. An Issue, Wound, or visible Ulcer are the Subjects of surgical Application.

With Regard to the Share of Apothecaries, as such, in Inoculation; tho' several of them, I believe, have safely conducted many thro' it, it is manifest that in preparing the Body for the Disease, and sending Medicines of their own directing in it, they assume the Physician, in cutting and dressing, the Surgeon: when it is very obvious, that the strict and regular Conveyance of this Disease in *London* is quadripartite, as a Lawyer might term it; where the Physician should prepare and prescribe; the Surgeon cut, infuse, and dress; and the Apothecary faithfully compound for the Party inoculated; to whom they may still be said, as in *Wales*, to sell the Small Pox; tho' in more Form indeed, and Forms the Law also demonstrates to be expensive Things. Whether it happened from the last Consideration, that Physicians have been consulted about a Minority, perhaps, of all the Inoculated, may deserve their own Reflection. But to whatever Cause it was owing, our proposed History of Inoculation obliges us impartially to acknowledge, that tho' the most eminent Physicians were consulted at first, with Regard to the Introduction and Practice of this Method,

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there appears to have been a pretty early Disuse of them in it. Mr. HOWGRAVE, an Apothecary, who published his *Reasons against Inoculation* in 1724, at the Close of some Reflections he makes on the Death of the EARL of *Sunderland's* Son, who was inoculated, affirms P. 53 *verbatim*, as follows :

‘ There are five Persons signed the Certificate [he means of Master SPENCER’s dissected Body] and not one Physician amongst them. At my first reading it I thought this very extraordinary, that the Son of the Right Honourable the late Earl of *Sunderland*, should not have one Physician to attend him, or if he had, that none of those Gentlemen should likewise sign the Certificate. But I have been informed, from a most undeniable Authority, that after this Child’s Death, Mr. AMYAND drew up a Paper, in which he affirms the Child died of a Water in the Head, and not of the Small Pox, and went from a great Person, to three of the most eminent Physicians in Town to sign it, but they none of them did. When this or any other of my Accounts are called in Question, I shall be ready to produce my Vouchers. Why the Physicians refused to sign it I will not presume to say, but I think it is so plain of itself, that I need say no more of it.’ As we have met with no Contradiction of this in any subsequent Writer on the Subject, we must conclude, as indeed it appears, that no Physician signed the Certificate, which it is probable any pre-

previously consulted Physician would, for his own Sake. Whence it may be concluded, the Omission of such Advice must be owing, either to his Lordship's own Opinion, or that of some Person in Repute with him, that it was not necessary. The fatal Event however reflected little Honour on the Omission: For tho' the Child might have died, whatever Physician, or how many soever, prepared and attended him; yet as it was impossible to demonstrate, that they might not either discover and remove his constitutional Unfitness for the Small Pox; or have dissuaded the Operation, if they thought it irremovable, the Omission of Advice, in a Patient of such Condition too, was imprudent in itself; it might be unfortunate for the Patient; certainly was discreditable to the Operator; and probably proved injurious to the Practice, from more Reasons besides its Fatality in this Instance.

It is but too natural to suppose, that so early a Tendency of the Profits from Inoculation into one Chanel might co-operate with a few Deaths of the Inoculated, to the ensuing Stagnation of it for many Years. Every Physician, who might approve the Practice, would not be over zealous to promote one, where he found his preparatory Advice towards it excluded; when the generally comparative Mildness of the ensuing Disease oftener rendered his Attendance less necessary, than that from common Infection. The few Medicines required in Consequence of Inoculation (and we may suppose the Operator, when alone,

not too profuse of prescribing, which may often be very right and convenient) could not dispose the Apothecaries to recommend this Method, except they assumed the Physician, Surgeon, or both. Where neither of these was the Case, they would be apt to reflect, with particular Resentment against the Operator, and his Operation, that in the natural Distemper either a Physician was called in, which of Course employed them more or less: that, if a Physician was dispensed with, they were sent for; or in mild Cases and poor Patients, sometimes a Nurse, at other Times no Body was employed, a Surgeon never being recurred to in it, except Bleeding was prescribed, and very seldom where they directed it. But supposing such very alarming Symptoms to occur, that the Patient, Operator, or both, should desire a Physician's Attendance, a right Notion of this Disease must suggest, that as the greatest Service done in the natural Small Pox is almost ever effected before, or in the Infancy of, Eruption; so in the artificial, the Foundation of a happy Event is to be laid before Infection: since there is no other Distemper to which the *Principiis obsta* and *serò medicina paratur* are more strictly applicable. This, in plainer Terms, the Physician might signify, especially where he thought a Miscarriage likely to ensue; as he would be apt to suppose, at least, he could have prepared against such Symptoms as he could not remove. Such an Intimation would be a very indifferent Cordial to the Patient;

tient; but unpalatable to the Operator; and, if a Fatality ensued, must disgust the Friends of the Deceased; while it presented those who considered their Profession as neglected, their Trade restrained, with an Opportunity of indulging their Resentment.

Thus it appears very obviously deducible, that the general Interest of Physicians and Apothecaries might have concurred, with the Miscarriages by Inoculation, to fortify and extend vulgar Prejudices, and to leave the natural Disease to its ordinary Course and Havock; which, while it mulcted the Inoculators, was more advantageous to the former, though it destroyed many Subjects, a great Majority of whom, from all moral Appearance, must have been saved by persisting in the Practice. I do not suppose some Physicians and Apothecaries might not be such abstracted Lovers of their Species, as to recommend the very Method they might be no Gainers, or even Losers, by: but we are reflecting what the Conduct of a Majority would most probably be; since different Professions do not cancel, and but rarely affect, the leading Principles of Men. It must be confessed it was no Merit, no Self-denial in the Surgeons, while Physicians declined to cut and dress, to be good Friends to so friendly a Practice; but, whatever Horror the Reflexion gives me, I am convinced there have been and are Physicians, who wish it had never reached us. Some of these from having vulgar Capacities (to the Misfortune of their Patients) might

mean well, though they acted from vulgar Prejudices. But others, who were better qualified, grew lukewarm in the Promotion of what they had thoroughly considered and certainly approved; a Gentleman of this Sort having given me his Opinion, that it was not worth the Time of a Physician to attend much to the Subject, as the Practice of it had all fallen into a different Chanel. There might be some Fact in this; and tho' it is also true, that a Physician has the least Occasion to be attentive to what he has the least Expectation of being consulted about; it may be queried, how far a truly reflecting one could acquiesce in his Indifference for the Establishment of a medical Practice, he judged essentially vital, because it became less lucrative to himself. Such Faculties and Attainments, and such Integrity, as must combine in the truly valuable Physician, would dispose us to expect a more ingenuous Conduct. The Integrity and public Spirit of HIPPOCRATES in declining, for the Love of his Country, all the Wealth and Honours ARTAXERXES proffered him is an illustrious Precedent for his Successors; as his laconic Epistle to DEMETRIUS on that Occasion, in which he observes, (a) ARTAXERXES was ignorant he preferred the Attainment of Wisdom to Riches, was strictly philosophical. But such an Authority may be thought obsolete, or read like a Legend

(a) Βασιλεὺς Περσῶν ἡμεῖς μετ' ἀπεμπέλει, ἐκ εἰδώς ὅτι λόγος ἐμοὶ σοφίας χρυσὸν πλέον δύναται.

gend now ; and doubtless as Self-love is the great Principle of human Action, good, as well as bad, Society, upon the whole, have some Interest in each Individual's natural Attachment to his own.

And even on the Principle of Self-Interest, I conceive the Dissention of Physick and Surgery here was destructive (which Time may further demonstrate) of their durable common Interest on this Occasion : since to prevent popular Inoculation, as I have been forced to term it, it would have been politic to allow it its full Importance, and to preserve it in all that Formality which impresses the Multitude. For if the Physician should make so slight of the Operation, as to say any Body might do it, and the old Woman had ; the Surgeon might as truly retort, that she had also prepared them, and conducted them through the Disease without Physick, for any Thing that appears to the contrary. It must be left to the Election then of those to be inoculated, or their Friends, to determine, whether they should retain both of them, but one, and which ; or whether they should reinstate the old Woman again, and let the Nurse be a *Succedaneum* to them both. Nor is it unlikely that, from moderate Circumstances in some, and unnecessary Frugality in others, the good Lady might have a frequent Preference. I frankly acknowledge my own Opinion, that, even thus circumstanced, Inoculation would be useful to the Publick, upon the whole, since many had better be inoculated by any one than have it omitted : yet considering the

great Number of rich Constitutions here, ill disposed for this Disease; the Necessity of correcting such ill Disposition; and the Inability of the most sensible Woman to correct it (who might be the least forward to assume it too) the Miscarriages that must be multiplied in a little Time by a Misapplication and ill Oeconomy of the Practice would either extinguish, contract, or otherwise revert it into the medico-chirurgical Chanel it first flowed through among us. And indeed after the most cool and impartial Reflections in my Power on this Occasion, it appears reasonable to me, that this very Conduct of it here is likely to be attended with the fewest Miscarriages; which, besides their immediate Advantage to these Cities, will be pregnant with that of a more extensive and more experienced Establishment of the Practice; while it seems the fairest Distribution of the Employment attending it amongst Physick, Surgery and Pharmacy, which may be of some subordinate Import to the Publick too. Nevertheless I would always gladly suppose, that 'till the Fund of the Inoculation Hospital is sufficient to receive all proper Objects of it, there will be Physicians and Surgeons of sufficient Humanity to suffer no one who prefers Inoculation, and can make a Shift to accommodate themselves under it, to want its proper Application, for want of Ability to pay for it. And this may be the rather expected, as the Attendance very essentially necessary will be generally small, and the Medicines so few, that any con-

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siderate Apothecary, who would, on such Occasions, reduce them to near the prime Cost, could not fail of being thankfully paid for them.

But if it be the durable Interest of Physick and Surgery, in *London*, not to depretiate this Practice by any future Animosity about it, it is manifestly for the Honour of Persons, whose Conduct, like their Professions, should be liberal. If BARTHOLINE, in addressing his Brother, a Civilian, could observe a *communis nexus scientiarum*, as some Connexion between Law and Physick, how much closer must that between Physick Surgery and even Pharmacy be, which were both (or all perhaps) professed by HIPPOCRATES, CELSUS and many famous Antients; are at present united in some very eminent Men abroad and at home; and in many Places necessarily combined to the Convenience of Numbers. Then besides the incontestable Utility of Surgery (whose Diagnostics are often more evident, whose Prognostics sometimes less conjectural than those of internal Diseases) an ingenious Surgeon might have an intellectual Superiority of me, which my different Attainments might not counterbalance. But where this were otherwise, with Respect to other Physicians, methinks there is an odious Impoliteness and Illiberality in assuming the utmost, which the best Talents and Attainments may, with some Justice, claim. Various and odd Characters there certainly are in human Nature; as one of which there may sometimes occur a Combination of Pride and Science.

ence. Such I have heard of; but am inclined to consider them only as a few Exceptions to the more general and amiable Union of Science and Modesty. The former seem to me incumbered with some Mis-apprehension of themselves, or some Mistakes concerning Science; since a considerable Portion of what we call such appears necessary to let us into the superficial Quality of our deepest. In fine, in Professions so contiguous, and so antiently united, a few flight and reciprocal Incursions would be overlooked now and then, from particular Accidents, or from the Swarms in either stretching them a little out of Bounds; for the most useful Professions, like the richest Pastures, may be overstocked: But in a general Invasion both Parties would do well to recollect and apply the Fable of ANAXAGORAS concerning the Origin of Love, which supposes, ' That both the Sexes were at first completely blended in one animated Body; but that being afterwards distinguished into two, and separated by the Will of Fate, the former Halves became very solicitous to find each other out, and resume their primitive Union.' Now perhaps such a Coalition of these two Professions here would be little advantageous for either: but it will admit of no Debate, whether the Publick must not be less completely served by them in their conjoint, than in their distinct, Capacity; a Point of much more general Import, than a little Shifting and Variation of Property between the two Professions, or any Individuals composing them.

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Thus far of the Oeconomy of Inoculation within these great Cities and the Borough, where such a considerable Proportion of the People of *England*, and so very important a Part too, frequently reside; that when they were much less extended and populous, the Crown thought fit to constitute a College of the Faculty, as Guardians of the Public Health, and Judges of those Qualifications requisite to be intrusted with the Care of it, within certain circumjacent Boundaries. The same Manner of conducting Inoculation must be similarly adapted to other large and populous Cities, where the Multitude and Wealth of the Inhabitants are sufficient to employ and support the Professions distinctly: from which Circumstance we find the most eminent Members of each frequently recurred to at great Distances from the Metropolis; People naturally considering such a Distinction as productive of greater Experience, and more consummate Accomplishment to each, in their different Professions: which sometimes extends so far, as to give Individuals a Preference in different Diseases, and for different Operations.

But when we come to remote and small Places, thin and young Settlements, the Oeconomy of Inoculation must necessarily vary. And as People thus circumstanced can scarcely be as well assisted as the former, it is certain I shall miscarry in a considerable Purpose of this Treatise, if it should never reach such, or prove of
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little Use, tho' it should. We are not without Instances here and abroad of Crudity and Misconduct in the Application of this great Discovery. It has been misapplied to remove such an ill State of the Blood, as indicated its own Removal, before the Patient could be a proper Subject for the Disease. I have been credibly assured, that about three Years since a young Apothecary in *Dorsetshire*, after inoculating several, who recovered in spite of his Ignorance, inoculated two Children in the same Family, who proving fatally infected, he said, an Hour before their Decease, they were froward and wanted Correction. This requires no Comment. Another Country Apothecary, who has, since that, attended a young Gentleman to *London*, to be inoculated under the Advice of an eminent Physician, which succeeded happily, declared, that on his Return he would inoculate all the Country round him: And indeed if this Adventurer has had that Physician's Ability and Erudition infused into him from this single Case, his Country must be obliged to him, when his Intention is equally accomplished. Now a few successful Instances will be sufficient to convince such a Head-piece, that it may always be done as safely and easily as snapping his Fingers. But if he should not be disposed to take Warning by his Brother of *Dorsetshire*, he may blunder on just such froward Patients in his own Vicinage, and hush them as effectually. And tho' I have no Doubt even of Bunglers doing more Good than Mis-

Mischief by Inoculation, upon the whole; yet it is an Alloy to the great Advantage of it, that it must be sometimes committed to the Management of those, who are most likely to discredit it. The best and briefest Advice I can recommend to such, as are less qualified to profit by a great deal, is, that they would be careful *not to over do*, or to expect great Effects from much Medicine, when the Disease is formed: since Inoculation tolerably enterprized, and little disturbed, often does great Things of itself. I would not be supposed however to intend any general Reflection on Country Practitioners, many of whom I believe to be rational, diligent, useful Men; who may have seen too much Room for Improvement in others. And this is no more than what sometimes happens here and every where, in every Profession, and every Branch of it.

Each Country Surgeon and Apothecary, who singly undertakes the whole of Inoculation, should inform himself carefully of the best Conduct in the natural Disease, from SYDENHAM, BOERHAAVE, and such good Authors, if he had not previously done it. Even Physicians, who have long resided in Towns unvisited by the Small Pox for many Years, may judge it prudent to refresh their Memories in the same Manner, on the Introduction of it; and to reflect on the different Consequences of its accidental and spontaneous Infection. To save all such the Time of reading, and the Expence and Difficulty of collecting, a great deal more relative to the latter
Me-

Method, is a principal Purpose of this Treatise; in which, besides what is professed Compilation, the Author has risked many Sentiments (some few very novell) of his own; in a Manner perhaps too little digested and methodized for a critical Examination: yet as they certainly have the Merit of a good practical Intention; and a further Consideration, God willing, may advance them to further Maturity, he is the less solicitous about any Censure that may attend them. For as the candid Dr. FULLER says, in his honest hearty Phrase, ‘ No Man qualified for such an Undertaking ought to be so weak-hearted as to refuse it, for fear of a Scratch in his Credit. He is a poor little selfish Wretch indeed, that weighs his Name against the public Good.’ To which I may add, that all the just Reproof they meet with must terminate in my own Information, except my own Weakness prevent it.

As a Matter of real Import to the Publick, and the only weighty Argument I can discover against Inoculation, I shall close the whole with observing the obvious Tendency of it to diffuse the natural Disease: And where this is not already, the Security even of many, who may very wisely prefer Inoculation, seems not to be put into Competition with that of a Minority, who reject it, and are afraid of the Small Pox. People have, I conceive, an undoubted natural Right to use a Method discovered by Providence for their own vital Security; but not at the vital Risque of a Neighbour, who supposes differently
of

of it. No Person then I think should inoculate, or bring the Matter, or *Effluvia* of it, into any Place of Resort, where the Disease does not exist: Villages are said to have been deserted, and Markets destroyed, from the Apprehension of it. It is prudent nevertheless to prepare for it in an uninfected Place, which cannot injure the Neighbourhood. And after the Patient is inoculated near any large City, which we may suppose at some times a pretty diffuse, and, at others, a more centered Sphere of Infection; upon the Patients Recovery and retiring for Air afterwards, a Reflection on the surprizing and untraceable Progress of Contagion would induce a humane one, especially if his Distemper had run high, to reside in no House with any fresh Subjects of the Disease.

Were this Practice once extended into a Custom of inoculating all, that should attain the Age of five (excepting such morbid Children, as should be deemed proper Exceptions to it) the different Increase of the People, *caeteris paribus*, must be very sensible before the Expiration of a Century: and some convenient Places and Contrivances would of Course be provided for it. But as our Faculties and Tempers, as well as Bodies are so variously constituted (doubtless for the most wise and harmonious Purposes) that the whole People will scarcely ever unite in the Admission of it; if there were, at an uncontagious Distance from each large and populous Town, suppose the Capital of each County, a suitable
Re-

Reception, after the Manner of the Inoculating Hospital, that should, when the Small Pox was in the Town, admit as many as chose to be inoculated (after they had been duly prepared elsewhere) at a reasonable Expence: and, which were still more desirable, to receive those Volunteers who could not pay (if a moderate Fund could be raised in each County for such indigent Natives and Residents in it) and to have them well aired for a reasonable Time after their Recovery, before their Return to their uninfected Places of Residence: Such an Expedient, I imagine, prudently executed, might be effectual to the Preservation of great Numbers, without hazarding the Life, or Health, of any one besides. But so interesting an Event calls for the hearty concurrent Agency of many, though the improvable Hint might obviously occur to any one. In the mean Time it will be but charitable and prudent in all Practitioners, to accommodate the Practice to the humblest Circumstances of their Neighbours.



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E R R A T A.

Page 25. Line 28. for *Wive's* read *Wife's*.

P. 37. l. 19. for *seperately* read *separately*.

P. 45. l. 26. dele *rationelle*.

P. 62. l. 21. for *Valetudirian* read *Valetudinarian*.

P. 96. l. 9. for *Fauters* read *Fautors*.

P. 172. l. 26. for *Paralell* read *Parallel*.

P. 185. l. 7. for *political* read *politic*.

P. 256. l. 17. for *it* read *its*.

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